THE PRINCIPLES OF THE Cyprianic Age,

With Regard to

Episcopal Power and *Jurisdiction*:

Asserted and Recommended from the *Genuine Writings* of St. *Cyprian* himself, and his Contemporaries.

By which it is made evident, That the Vindicator of the Kirk of *Scotland* is obliged by his own Concessions to acknowledge, that *he* and *his Associates* are *Schismaticks*.

In a Letter to a FRIEND.

By *J. S.* John Sage

In the SAVOY,

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UMI

SAnctiſſimæ Matri Eccleſiæ SCOTICANÆ,
Sub pondere preſſæ,
Sed & adhuc malis non cedenti,
Fidem Catholicam, Unitatem Apoſtolicam, Pietatem primævam
Fortiter propugnanti:

Adverſus Blaſphemias, Calumnias, Sacrilegia, & Ruinas,
Invicto (quia verè Chriſtiano) animo
Strenuè decertanti:

Cultu, Fide, & Juſtitiâ,
In Deum, Regem, & proximos
Conſpicuæ:

Hæreſes omnes, tam antiquas quam novas,
Armis Evangelicis, & perpetuâ Eccleſiæ traditione
Profligantî:

Undique Lachrymis ſuffuſæ,
Victrice tamen Cruce triumphanti;

(Tam Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, Presbyteris, & Diaconis,
Quam univerſo Fidelium Cœtui,
Veris ſuis Paſtoribus vinculo Ἑνωτίας primigeniæ,
Adhæreſcenti)

Solâ ſpe Cœleſtis præmii, inter clades miſeras & maximas,
Suffultæ;

Hanc diſſertationem Epiſtolarem (raptim & ſermone
Vernaculo conſcriptam) de Epiſcoporum ævi Cyprianici
Eminentiâ & Prærogativis,
Eâ quâ par eſt animi modeſtiâ & reverentiâ,
Clientelæ & Cenſuræ ergò
D. D. D.

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE Cyprianic Age, &c.

SIR,

I Acknowledge you have performed your Promiſe. The Author of the *Defence of the Vindication of the Church of* Scotland, *in Anſwer to an Apology* OF (he ſhould have ſaid *FOR*) *the Clergy of* Scotland, has indeed ſaid ſo as you affirmed: And I ask your Pardon for putting you to the trouble of ſending me his Book and Pointing to *Sect.* 39. *Page* 34. where he has ſaid ſo. But now, after all, what tho he has ſaid ſo? And ſaid ſo, ſo boldly? Do you think his bare ſaying ſo is enough to determine our Queſtion? Don't miſtake it. That which made me ſo backward to believe he had ſaid ſo, was not any dreadful Apprehenſion I had of either his Reaſon or Authority; but a Perſwaſion that none of his Party would have been ſo raſh, as to have put their being or not being *Schiſmaticks* upon ſuch a deſperate Iſſue. And that you may not apprehend my Perſwaſion was unreaſonable, I ſhall firſt take to Task what he hath ſaid; and then, perchance, add ſomething concerning our main Argument. His Words are theſe.

Art. 5. Cyprian's *Notion of* Schiſm *is, when one ſeparateth from his own Biſhop. This the Presbyterians do:* Ergo. A. *All*

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the ſtrength of this Argument lieth in the ſound of Words. A Biſhop, in Cyprian's *time, was not a* Dioceſan, *with* ſole Power *of* Juriſdiction *and* Ordination. *If he prove that, we ſhall Give* Cyprian *and* him *leave to call us* Schiſmaticks. *A Biſhop, then, was the* Paſtor *of a* Flock, *or the* Moderator *of a* Presbytery. *If he can prove, that we ſeparate from our* Paſtors, *or from the* Presbytery, *with their* Moderator, *under whoſe Inſpection we ought to be, let him call us what he will: But we diſown the Biſhops in* Scotland *from being our Biſhops; we can neither own their Epiſcopal Authority, nor any Paſtoral Relation that they have to us.* Thus he.

Now, Sir, if one had a mind to catch at Words, what a Field might he have here? For Inſtance; Suppoſe the Word *Dioceſs* was not in uſe in St. *Cyprian*'s time, as applied to a particular Biſhop's *Diſtrict*; Doth it follow, that the Thing now ſignified by it, was not then to be found? Again; What could move him to inſinuate, that we aſſign the *ſole Power* of *Juriſdiction* and *Ordination* to our *Dioceſan Biſhop*? When did our Biſhops *claim* that *ſole Power*? When was it aſcribed to them by the Conſtitution? When did any of our Biſhops attempt to Exerciſe it? When did a *Scotiſh* Biſhop offer, *e. g.* to *Ordain* or *Depoſe* a Presbyter, without the Concurrence of other Presbyters? When was ſuch a *ſole Power* deem'd *Neceſſary*, for Raiſing a Biſhop to all the due Elevations of the Epiſcopal Authority? How eaſie is it to diſtinguiſh between a *Sole* and a *Chief Power*? Between a *Power Superiour* to all other *Powers*, and a Power *Excluſive* of all other *Powers*? Between a *Power*, without, or againſt which, no other *Powers* can Act; thô they may, in Conjunction with it, or Subordination to it: And a *Power*, deſtroying all other *Powers*, or diſabling them from Acting? Once more, How looſe and Ambiguous is that part of his Definition of a Biſhop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, in which he calls him, *The Paſtor of a Flock*? May not a *Biſhop*, and his Dioceſs, be called a *Paſtor* and a *Flock*, in as great propriety of Speech, as a *Presbyterian Miniſter* and his *Pariſh*? Sure I am, St. *Cyprian* and his Contemporaries thought ſo, as you may learn hereafter.

How eaſie were it, I ſay, for one to inſiſt on ſuch Eſcapes, if he had a mind for it? But I love not Jangle; and I muſt avoid

avoid Prolixity: And therefore considering the State of the Controversie between our Author and the Apologist, and supposing he intended (however he expressed it) to speak home to the Apologist's Argument; the Force and Purpose of his Answer, as I take it, must be this,

"That an Argument drawn from such as were called Bi-
"shops in St. *Cyprian*'s time, to such as are now so called in
"*Scotland*, is not good. That a Bishop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time,
"was nothing like one of our modern *Scotish* Bishops; *i. e.* a
"Church Governour superiour to, and having a Prelatick
"Power over, all other Church-Governours within such a Di-
"strict as we commonly call a *Diocess*. That a Bishop then was no
"more than a *single Presbyter*, or *Pastor* of a *single Flock*, (such
"a Flock as could conveniently meet together in one Assem-
"bly, for the Publick Offices of Religion; such a Flock as
"the People of one single Parish are, in the modern Presby-
"terian Notion of a Parish,) acting in *Parity* with other
"*single Pastors* of other *single Flocks* or Parishes. Or, at most,
"That he was but the *Moderator* of a *Presbytery*, taking both
"Terms in the modern current Presbyterian Sense; *i. e.* as
"*Moderator* signifies *One, who, as such, is no Church-Governour,*
"*nor hath any Jurisdiction over his Brethren: One, whose Power*
"*is meerly Ordinative, not Decisive; To be the Mouth of the*
"*Meeting, not to be their Will or Commanding Faculty: To keep*
"*Order in the Manner and Managing of what cometh before*
"*them; Not to Determine what is Debated amongst them.* And
"as *Presbytery* signifies such a Number of *Teaching* and *Ruling*
"Presbyters living and having their Cures within such a Di-
"strict; meeting together upon Occasion, and acting in
"*Parity* in the Administration of the Government, and Dis-
"cipline of the Church. That therefore our *Scotish Presbyte-*
"*rians* cannot be called *Schismaticks* in St *Cyprian*'s Notion of
"*Schism*, unless it can be proved, That they *Separate* from
"their Pastor, or *Teaching Presbyter*, who has such a Parish
"assigned to him for his Charge: Or, (not from the *Modera-*
"*tor* of the *Presbytery*, who is not; but) from the *Presbytery*
"(which is the Principle of Unity) with their *Moderator*.

This, I say, I take to be the Purpose of our Author's An-swer to the Apologist's Argument; on the Force whereof he ventures his Parties being, or not being, *Schismaticks*. If I

have mistaken his Meaning, I protest I have not done it wilfully. I am pretty sure, I have not, in the Definition of a Moderator; for I have Transcribed it, Word for Word, from one whom I take to be a dear Friend of his, intirely of the same Principles and Sentiments with him; and whose Definitions, I am apt to think, he will not readily Reject. I mean, the Author of *The Vindication of the Church of* Scotland, *in Answer to the Ten Questions*[a]. And doth not our Author himself, in this same 39th *Section*, (part whereof I am now considering,) affirm, That *Fifty Years before the first Council of* Nice, (*i. e.* some 17 or 18 Years after St. *Cyprian*'s Martyrdom,) *the Hierarchy was not in the Church?* And that *however some of the Names might have been, yet the Church-Power and Dominion, signified by them, was not then in Being?* Plainly importing, that the Church then was Governed by Pastors acting in *Parity*, after the Presbyterian Model. In short, what our Author hath said, when duly considered, will be found to be no Answer at all to the Apologist's Argument, if it is not to be understood in the Sense I have represented.

[a] *Ad Quæst.* 1. *Sect.* 5.

Taking it for granted, therefore, that I have hit his Meaning, I hope you will not deny, that, If I shall prove that a *Bishop*, in *Cyprian*'s time, was more than a *Pastor* of a *Flock*, or the *Moderator* of a *Presbytery*, in the Presbyterian Sense of the Terms: If I shall prove, that a *Bishop* then had really that which cannot be denied to have been true, Genuine *Episcopal* or *Prelatick Power*: If I can prove, that he *acted* in a Real *Superiority over*, not in *Parity with* other Church-Governours, even *Pastors*: If I shall prove these Things, I say, I hope you'l grant, our Author is fairly bound by his Word to acknowledge, that he and his Brethren *Presbyterians* are *Schismaticks*. Let us try it then: And now, Sir,

Before I come to my main Proofs, consider if it may not be deemed a shrewd Presumption against our Author in this matter, That generally the great Champions for Presbytery, such as *Chamier*, *Blondel*, *Salmasius*, the Provincial Assembly of *London*, &c. do ingenuously acknowledge, That, long before St. *Cyprian*'s time, Episcopacy was in the Church; even *Spanhemius* himself grants, That, in the Third Century, Bishops had a *manifest Prehominence above Presbyters and Dea-*

Deacons, and a *Right of Presiding, Consecrating, Ordaining*[a], *&c.* By the way: I have cited this Writer particularly, because our Author not only builds much on his Authority[c], but honours him with the great Character of being *That diligent Searcher into Antiquity*. How deservedly, let others judge; for my part, I cannot think he has been so very *diligent a Searcher*: For in that same very *Section*, in which he acknowledges the Episcopal Preheminence in the Third Century, he says expressly, That, in that Age, there were no *Door-keepers*, *Acolyths*, nor *Exorcists*[d]. And yet I not only find express mention of *Exorcists* in the Venerable Council of *Carthage*, in which St. *Cyprian* was *Praeses*[e]; But both *Cyprian* and *Firmilian* expressly mention *Exorcists*[f]. And as for *Acolyths*, how often do we find them mentioned in *Cyprian*'s Epistles? *E. g.* We have *Naricus* an *Acolyth*, Ep. 7. *Favorinus*, Ep. 34. *Nicephorus*, Ep. 45. *Saturnus*, and *Felicianus*, Ep. 59. *Lucianus*, *Maximus*, and *Amantius*, Ep. 77. And doth not *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, in his famous Epistle to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*, Recorded by *Eusebius*[g], positively affirm, That there were then in the Church of *Rome* 42 *Acolyths*, and 52 *Exorcists*, *Lectors*, and *Door-keepers*? But this, as I said, only by the way.

That which I am concerned about at present, is, That when these great Patrons of Presbytery, these truly Learned Men, whom I named, have all so frankly yielded, that there was real *Prelacy* in the Church in, and before, St. *Cyprian*'s time; yet our Author should affirm, so boldly, that there was no such Thing: That there was no *Hierarchy* in the Church *then*, nor for many Years after. Has our Author been a more *diligent Searcher* into *Antiquity*, than those great *Antiquaries* were, that he was thus able to contradict their Discoveries? I am not apt to believe it. However, as I said, let this pass only for a Presumption against him. I proceed to other Arguments. And,

1. I observe, that, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, every Church all the World over, at least, every Church, Constituted and Organized, according to the Principles which then prevailed, had a *Bishop*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, by whom she was Ruled.

Thus,

[a] *Episcoporum manifesta ubique Ordinatio seu jure praesidendi, Convocandi, Ordinandi, &c. Epist. Hag. ad Hist. Eccles. Nov. Test. Sec. 3. Sect. 6. pag. mihi, 117.*

[c] *Sect. 32. p. 28.*

[d] *Sed nec hujus aevi Ordinis Minores, quales Ostiariorum, Copiatarum, Acolythorum, Exorcistarum. p. 119.*

[e] *Suffrag. 1, 8, 32, 37.*

[f] *Ep. 23. p. 49. Ep. 69. p. 187. Ep. 75. p. 223.*

[g] *Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. cap 43.*

Thus, for Example, we find expreſs Mention of the Biſhop, Presbyters, and Deacons, of the Church of *Adrymetum*[h]; for *Cyprian* tells *Cornelius*, That when *He* and *Liberalis* came to that City, *Polycarpus* the Biſhop was abſent, and the Presbyters and Deacons were ignorant of what had been Reſolved on by the Body of the *African* Biſhops, about writing to the Church of *Rome*, till the Controverſie between *Cornelius* and *Novatianus* ſhould be more fully underſtood.

Thus *Cyprian* was Biſhop of *Carthage*, and at the ſame time there were, in that City, 8 Presbyters at leweſt: For we read of three, *Rogatianus*, *Britius*, and *Numidicus*, who adhered to him[i]. And five who took part with *Feliciſſimus* againſt him, when that Deacon made his Schiſm[k]. I hope I need not be at pains to prove, that there were Deacons then in that famous Church.

Thus *Cornelius*, in the afore-mentioned Epiſtle to *Fabius*, tells him, That while himſelf was Biſhop of *Rome*, there were in that City no fewer than 46 *Presbyters*, and 7 *Deacons*, *&c.* A *moſt flouriſhing Clergy*, as St. *Cyprian* calls it[l]. Whoſo pleaſes, may ſee the like Account of the Church of *Alexandria*, in the ſame Times, in *Euſebius*[m]. Indeed,

If we may believe St. *Cyprian*, there was no Church then without a Biſhop: For from this Suppoſition, as an uncontroverted Matter of Fact, he Reaſons againſt *Novatianus*[n]. His Argument is, That there is but *One Church*, and *One Epiſcopacy*, all the World over; and that Catholick and Orthodox Biſhops were regularly planted in every Province and City, and therefore *Novatianus* could not but be a *Schiſmatick*, who, *contrary to Divine Inſtitution, and the Fundamental Laws of Unity, laboured to ſuper-induce falſe Biſhops into theſe Cities, where True and Orthodox Biſhops were already planted.* And he Reaſons again upon the ſame Suppoſition, in the beginning of his 63d Epiſtle directed to *Cæcilius*, concerning the Cup in

[h] *Presbyteri & Diaconi in* Adrumetina *Conſiſtentes*, Polycarpo *Co-epiſcopo noſtro abſente, ignorabant quid nobis in Communi placuiſſet, &c. Ep.* 49. *p.* 91.

[i] *Ep.* 43.

[k] *Ep.* 59.

[l] *Ep.* 59. *p.* 139.

[m] *H. E. lib.* 7. *cap.* 11.

[n] *Cum ſit, a Chriſto, una Eccleſia, per totum Mundum, in multa Membra diviſa, item Epiſcopatus unus Epiſcoporum multorum Concordi Numeroſitate Diffuſus; ille, poſt Dei traditionem, poſt conexam & ubique conjunctam Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Unitatem, humanam conetur Eccleſiam facere, & per plurimas Civitates, novos Apoſtolos ſuos mittat, ut quaedam recentia inſtitutionis ſuæ fundamenta conſtituat; cumque jampridem per* OMNES PROVINCIAS *&* URBES SINGULAS, *Ordinati ſint Epiſcopi, in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in preſſura probati, in perſecutione proſcripti, ille ſuper eos creare alios pſeudo-epiſcopos audeat. Ep.* 55. *p.* 112.

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the Eucharist [o]. From this Supposition, I say, as from an uncontested Matter of *Fact*, he Reasons, in both Cases, which is a Demonstration, not only of the Credibility of his Testimony, but that the Matter of *Fact* was then so Notorious, as to be undeniable. He Reason'd from it, as from an acknowledged *Postulate*.

2. I observe, that the Presbyters, who, in these Times, were contra-distinguished from the Bishop and Deacons, were *Priests*, in the Language which was then current; *Pastors*, in the present Presbyterian Dialect, *i. e.* not *Ruling Elders*, but such as laboured in the Word and Sacraments. They were such as were honoured with the *Divine Priesthood*; such as were Constituted in the Clerical Ministery; such as whose Work it was to attend the *Altar* and the *Sacrifices*, and *offer* up the *Publick Prayers*, &c. as we find in the Instance of *Geminius Faustinus* [p]. Such as God, in his merciful Providence, was pleased to raise to the Glorious Station of the *Priesthood*; as in the Case of *Numidicus* [q]. Such as in the time of *Persecution* went to the Prisons, and *gave the Holy Eucharist to the Confessors* [r]. Such as at *Carthage* (as St. *Cyprian* complains to *Cornelius*) presumed to curtail the Pennances of the Lapsers, and *gave them the Holy Sacrament* while their Idolatry was so very recent, that, as it were, their Hands and Mouths were still a smoaking with the warm *Nidors* of the *Sacrifices* that had been offered upon the *Devils Altars* [s]. Such as, contrary to all Rule and Order, *absolved the Lapsers*, and *gave* them the *Communion*, without the Bishops Licence [t]. Such as were joyned with the Bishop in the *Sacerdotal Honour* [u]. In a word, They were such Presbyters as St. *Cyprian* describes to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*; such as sometimes *raised Altar against Altar*, and (out of the Communion with the Church) *offered False and Sacrilegious Sacrifices*: Such as were to be *Deposed* when they did so; such as, thô they should *return* to the Communion of the Church, were only to be admited to LAY-COMMUNION, and not to be allowed, thereafter, *to act as Men in Holy Orders*; seeing it became the PRIESTS and Ministers of God, those who attend the *Altar* and *Sacrifices*, to be Men of Integrity, and Blame-

[o] *Quanquam sciant, Frater Charissime, Episcopos plurimos Ecclesiis Dominicis in* TOTO MUNDO *divina dignatione praepositos, &c. Ep. 63. ab init.*

[p] *Divino Sacerdotio honorati, & in Clericis Ministeriis constituti non nisi Altari & Sacrificiis deservire, & precibus atque Orationibus vacare debeant. Ep. 1. p. 1.*

[q] *Ut cum Clero nostro Dominus adjungeret, & desolatam per lapsum quorundam, Presbyterii nostri copiâ Gloriosis Sacerdotibus adornaret. Ep. 40. p. 79.*

[r] *Ep. 5. p. 11.*

[s] *Ep. 59. p. 134. & De Lapsis, p. 128.*

[t] *Ep. 15, 16, 17. fas.*

[u] *Ep. 61. p. 144.*

Jest.

less [v]. Such Presbyters they were, I say, who were then, contra-distinguished from the Bishop: For, as for your *Lay-Elders*, your *Ruling*, contra-distinct from *Teaching*, *Presbyters*, now so much in vogue; there is as profound a Silence of them in St. *Cyprian's* Works and Time, as there is of the *Solemn League* and *Covenant*, or *The Sanquhar Declaration*: And yet, considering how much he has left upon Record about the Governours, the Government, and the Discipline of the Church, if there had been such Presbyters, then, it is next to a Miracle that he should not, so much as once, have mentioned them.

[v] *Addimus plane & adjungimus, frater carissime, Consensu & Authoritate communi, ut etiam si qui Presbyteri —— Contra Altare unum atque divinum, Sacrificia, foris, falsa & Sacrilega offerre conati sint, eos quoque hac conditione suscipi, cum revertuntur, ut* COMMUNICENT LAICI —— *Nec debere eos revertentes, ea, apud nos, Ordinationis & Honoris arma retinere, quibus contra nos Rebellaverunt: Oportet enim* SACERDOTES —— *qui Altari & Sacrificiis deserviunt, integros atque immaculatos esse, &c. Ep. 72. p. 197.*

3. I observe, that the Bishops Power, his Authority, his Pastoral Relation, (call it as you will,) extended to all the Christians within his District. *E. g. Cornelius* was immediately and directly *Superiour* to all the Christians in *Rome*, and they were his *Subjects*. So it was also with *Fabius*, and the Christians of *Antioch*; *Dionysius*, and the Christians of *Alexandria*; *Cyprian*, and the Christians of *Carthage*, *&c.* The Bishops prelation, whatever it was, related not solely to the Clergy, or solely to the Laity, but to both, equally and formally. How fully might this Point be proved, if it were needful? Indeed, St. *Cyprian* defines a *Church* to be *A People united to their Priest*, and *A Flock adhering to their Pastor*. And that by the Terms *Priest* and *Pastor*, he meant the *Bishop*, is plain from what immediately follows; for he tells *Florentius Pupianus* there, That from that common and received Notion of a Church, he ought to have learned, *That the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the Bishop*; and that *whose is not with the Bishop, is not in the Church* [vv]. And in that same Epistle, chastising the same *Florentius* for calling his Title to his Bishoprick in question, and speaking bitter Things against him, he Reasons thus: *What Swelling of Pride? What Arrogance of Spirit? What Haughtiness is this?*

[vv] *Christo sunt Ecclesia, plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & pastori suo Grex adhaerens. Unde scire debes Episcopum in Ecclesia esse, & Ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui cum Episcopo non sint, in Ecclesia non esse. Ep. 66. p. 168.*

This

That thou ſhouldeſt arraign Biſhops before thy Tribunal? And, unleſs we be Purged by thee, and Abſolved by thy Sentence, Lo! theſe Six Years, The BROTHERHOOD *has had no* BISHOP; *The* PEOPLE *no* RULER; *The* FLOCK *no* PASTOR; *The* CHURCH *no* GOVERNOUR; CHRIST *no* PRELATE; *And* GOD *no* PRIEST[x]? In ſhort, He that bore the high Character of Biſhop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was called the *Ruler* of the Church by way of Eminence[y]. The *Church* was compared to a *Ship*, and the *Biſhop* was the *Maſter*[z]. He was the *Father*, and all the Chriſtians within his *Diſtrict* were his *Children*[a]. He was the *Governour*[b], the *Rector*[c], the *Captain*[d], the *Head*[e], the *Judge*[f], of all within his *Dioceſs*. He was the *chief Paſtor*; and thô *Preſbyters* were alſo ſometimes called *Paſtors*, yet it was but ſeldom; and, at beſt, they were but *ſuch* in *Subordination*. Indeed, the *Preſbyters* of the Church of *Rome*, during the Vacancy between *Fabianus* his Death and *Cornelius* his Promotion, look'd only on themſelves as *Vice-Paſtors*, ſaying, That, in ſuch a juncture, *they kept the Flock in* STEAD *of the Paſtor*, the Biſhop[g]. I could give you even a Surfeit of Evidences, I ſay, for the Truth of this Propoſition, if it were needful. Whoſo reads St. *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles, may find it in almoſt every Page. And I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to inſiſt on many Arguments in the Probation of other Things, which may further clear this alſo. Indeed, there is no more in all this, than *Ignatius* ſaid frequently, near 150 Years before St. *Cyprian*[h].

[x] *Quis namque hic eſt ſuperbiæ tumor? Quæ arrogantia animi? Quæ mentis inflatio? Ad cognitionem ſuam, præpoſitos & Sacerdotes vocare? Ac niſi apud te purgati fuerimus & ſententia tua abſoluti, ecce jam, ſex annis, nec fraternitas habuit Epiſcopum, nec plebs præpoſitum, nec Grex paſtorem, nec Eccleſia Gubernatorem, nec Chriſtus Antiſtitem, nec Deus Sacerdotem? Ibid. p. 167.* [y] *Præpoſitus*, paſſim. [z] *Chriſti adverſarius, & Eccleſiæ ejus inimicus. ad hoc Eccleſiæ præpoſitum ſua infeſtatione proſequitur, ut Gubernatore ſublato, atrocius atque violentius circa Eccleſiæ Naufragia Graſſetur. Ep. 59. p. 130. Vide etiam Ep. 30. p. 56.* [a] *Ep. 41. p. 79.* [b] *Gubernator*, paſſim. [c] *Rector. Ep. 59. p. 133.* [d] *Dux. Ep. 60. p. 141.* [e] *Caput. Ep. 45. p. 86.* [f] *Judex. Ep. 59. p. 129.* [g] *Et cum incumbat nobis qui videmur præpoſiti eſſe, &* VICE PASTORIS *cuſtodire Gregem, &c.* [h] Ὅτε ἂν φανῇ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω. *Ignat. ad Smyrn. Edit. Lond. 1680. p. 6.* Χωρὶς τούτων (Epiſcopo, nempe, Preſbyteris & Diaconis,) Ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. *Ad Trall. p. 48. & paſſim.*

And now, Sir, thô the Monuments of the *Cyprianic* Age could afford us no more than theſe three Things which I have proved from them, they would be of ſufficient force to overthrow our Author's *Definition* of a *Biſhop* in St. *Cyprian*'s

time, as to both Parts of it; and demonſtrate to every thinking Man's conviction, That he was neither *The Paſtor of the Flock*, nor *The Moderator of a Presbytery*, in our Author's ſenſe of the Terms.

1. Not the *Paſtor* of a *Flock*, *i.e.* a *ſingle Presbyter*, having the Charge of a *ſingle Pariſh*, after the Presbyterian Model: For, a Biſhop, in thoſe Times, had many ſuch Presbyters under him. *Cyprian* himſelf (whatever he had more) had no fewer than Eight under him in the City of *Carthage*, beſides the adjacent Villages. *Cornelius* was over Forty ſix in the City of *Rome*. I know not how many *Dionyſius* was over at *Alexandria*, or *Polycarpus* at *Adrumetum*; but it is certain, they were in the *Plural* Number. So it was all the Chriſtian World over, as I have proved. A *Biſhop* then, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was a *Paſtor* indeed, but it was of a *Dioceſs*; *i.e.* all the Chriſtians within ſuch a *Diſtrict* were his *Flock*; and he had a direct, formal, and immediate *Paſtoral Relation* to them all, thô at the ſame time, within the ſame *Diſtrict*, there were many *inferior Paſtors* who were ſubordinate and ſubject to him.

2. He was as little a meer *Moderator* of a *Presbytery*, in our Author's ſenſe of the Terms. A *Presbyterian Moderator*, *as ſuch*, *is no Church-Governour at all*: A *Biſhop*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, as ſuch, was *chief Paſtor*, *Judge*, *Head*, *Maſter*, *Rector*, *Governour*, of all the Chriſtians within his *Diſtrict*. A *Presbyterian Moderator*, *as ſuch*, *has no direct*, *immediate*, *formal Relation to the People*, but only to the *Presbytery*. *He is the Mouth*, and *keeps Order* in the *manner* and *managing* of the *Affairs* of the *Presbytery*, not of the *Church*, or rather *Churches*, within the Bounds of that Presbytery. But a *Biſhop*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was quite another thing: His *Prelacy*, whatever it was, *related* to the *Laity*, as well as to the *Clergy*. St. *Cyprian*'s, *e.g.* to as many Chriſtians as required the ſubordinate Labours of, at leaſt, Eight Presbyters: *Cornelius*'s to as many as required the ſubordinate Labours of *Forty Six*: To a Body of Chriſtians, in which, beſides Forty ſix *Presbyters*, Seven *Deacons*, Seven *Sub-Deacons*, Forty two *Acolyths*, Fifty two *Exorciſts*, *Lectors* and *Door-keepers*, *there were more than Fifteen hundred Widows and poor People who ſubſiſted by Charity*: And, beſides all theſe, *a mighty and innumerable Laity*, as

him.

himself words it[i]. These Things, I say, might be sufficient in all Reason to confute our Author's Notion. But then, this is not all, for let us consider,

II. How a *Bishop*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was Promoted to his Chair, to that *sublime Top of the Priesthood* (as he calls it)[k]. And we shall easily collect another Demonstration against our Author's Notion. For, by the Principles of those Times, it was plain,

1. That there could be no Lawful nor Allowable Promotion of One to a Bishoprick which had been Possessed before, unless there was a Clear, Canonical, and Unquestionable *Vacancy*. It was a received Maxim then, That there could be but *one Bishop* at *once* in a *Church*. When a *See* was once Canonically filled, whosoever else pretended to be Bishop of that *See*, was not a *second Bishop*, but *none* at all, in St. *Cyprian*'s Judgment[l]. Nay, he was so far from reckoning of him as *another Bishop*, that he deemed him not a *Christian*[m]. Innumerable are his Testimonies to this purpose[n]. But I shall Transcribe only One from *Ep.* 69. because he fully reasons the Case in it. There was a Controversie between *Cornelius* and *Novatianus*, whether was Bishop of *Rome*. Now, consider how St. *Cyprian* decides it. *The Church is one* (says he); *and this one Church cannot be both within and without: If, therefore, the True Church is with* Novatianus, *She was not with* Cornelius. *But if She was with* Cornelius, *who succeeeded to Bishop* Fabianus *by lawful Ordination, and whom God honoured with Martyrdom, as well as with the Episcopal Dignity,* Novatianus *is not in the Church; nor can he be acknowledged as a Bishop, who, contemning the Evangelical and Apostolical Tradition, and succeeding to none, hath sprung from himself, He can by no means either have or hold a Church, who is not Ordained in the Church; for the Church cannot be without Herself, nor divided against Herself,* &c. And a little after, *Our Lord recommending to us the Unity which is of Divine Institution, saith,* I and my Father are One; *and again, Obliging the Church to keep this Unity, he saith,* There shall be One Flock, and One Pastor: *But if the* Flock *is* One, *How can he be reputed to be of the Flock, who is not numbred with the Flock? Or how can he be deem'd a* Pastor, *who (while the* True Pastor *lives and rules the* Flock *by a succe-*

[i] Μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀναριθμήτου λαοῦ, *Apud Euseb. H. E. Lib.* 6. *cap.* 43.

[k] *Sacerdotii sublime fastigium. Ep.* 55. *p.* 103.

[l] *Et cum post primum secundus esse non possit, quisquis post unum, qui solus esse debeat, factus est, non jam ille secundus, sed nullus est. Ep.* 55. *p.* 104.

[m] *Quisquis ille est & qualiscunque est, Christianus non est. Ep.* 55. *p.* 112. *fuse.*

[n] *Ep.* 44. *p.* 86. *Ep.* 45. *p.* 86. *Ep.* 46. *p.* 89. *Ep.* 59. *p.* 130. *Ep.* 61. *p.* 144. *Ep.* 68. *p.* 177. *Ep.* 69. *p.* 184. *Un. Eccl. p.* 110.

daneous Ordination) ſucceeds to none, but begins from himſelf? Such an one is an Alien, is Profane, is an Enemy to Chriſtian Peace and Unity. He dwells not in the Houſe of God, i. e. *in the Church of God: None can dwell there but the Sons of Concord and Unanimity* °.

° *Eccleſia enim una eſt, quæ una & intus eſſe & foris, non poteſt. Si enim apud* Novatianum *eſt, apud* Cornelium *non fuit. Si vero apud* Cornelium *fuit, qui* Fabiano *Epiſcopo, Legitima Ordinatione ſucceſſit, & quem, præter Sacerdotii honorem, Martyrio quoque Dominus Glorificavit,* Novatianus *in Eccleſia non eſt, nec Epiſcopus computari poteſt, qui, Evangelica & Apoſtolica Traditione contempta, nemini ſuccedens, a ſeipſo Ortus eſt: Habere namque aut tenere Eccleſiam nullo modo poteſt qui Ordinatus in Eccleſia non eſt: Foris enim non eſſe Eccleſiam, nec ſcindi adverſum ſe, &c.* Et paulo poſt, *Idcirco Dominus inſinuans nobis Unitatem de Divina Auctoritate venientem, ponit & Dicit,* Ego & Pater unum ſumus: *Ad quam unitatem redigens Eccleſiam ſuam, denuo dicit,* Et erit Unus Grex, & Unus Paſtor: *Si autem Grex unus eſt, quomodo poteſt Gregi annumerari qui in numero Gregis non eſt? Aut Paſtor quomodo haberi poteſt qui (monente vero paſtore, & in Eccleſia Dei Ordinatione ſuccidanea præſidente) nemini ſuccedens, & a ſeipſo incipiens, Alienus ſit & profanus, Dominicæ pacis ac Divinæ Unitatis inimicus; non habitans in domo Dei, i. e. in Eccleſia Dei, in qua non niſi Concordes & Unanimes habitant?* Ep. 69. p. 181, 182.

Neither was this Principle peculiar to St. *Cyprian*: *Cornelius*, in his ſo often mentioned Epiſtle to *Fabius*, inſiſts on it alſo, and in a manner Ridicules *Novatianus*, if not for his Ignorance of it, at leaſt for entertaining the vain Conceit, that it was in his Power to counter-act it P. And when *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, *Macarius*, &c. deſerted *Novatianus*, and returned to *Cornelius* his Communion, they made a Solemn Confeſſion, That, upon the ſcore of that ſame common Maxim, they ought to have look'd upon *Novatianus* as a Falſe and Schiſmatical Biſhop. *We know*, ſay they, *that* Cornelius *was choſen Biſhop of the moſt Holy Catholick Church by the Omnipotent God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. We confeſs our Error; we were impoſed upon; we were circumvented by Perfidy and Enſnaring Sophiſtry* —— *For we are not ignorant, That there is* One *God; One Chriſt our Lord, whom we have confeſſed; One Holy-Ghoſt; And that there ought to be but* One Biſhop *in a Catholick Church* q. Indeed, two Biſhops at once, of one Church or City, were then thought as great an Abſurdity as two Fathers of one Child, or two Husbands of one Wife, or two

P Ὁ ἐνδυνατὸς ὢν τῷ ἐναγχέλιῳ ἀκόσαι ἵνα ἐπίσκοπον λῦν εἶναι ἐκ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. *Euſeb. H. E. Lib. 6. cap. 43.*

q *Nos* Cornelium *Epiſcopum Sanctiſſimæ Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Electum a Deo Omnipotente, & Chriſto Domino noſtro ſcimus. Nos erroremnoſtrum confitemur; nos impoſturam paſſi ſumus; circumventi ſumus perfidia & Loquacitate captioſa. Non enim ignoramus Unum Deum eſſe; Unum Chriſtum eſſe Dominum, quem Confeſſi ſumus; Unum Spiritum Sanctum; Unum Epiſcopum in Catholica Eccleſia eſſe debere.* Ep. 49. p. 93.

Heads

Heads of one Body, or whatever else you can call *Monstrous* in either Nature or Morality.

2. There was no Canonical *Vacancy*, no Place for a new Bishop, but where the *One Bishop*, whose the Chair had been, was *Dead*, or had *Ceded*, or was Canonically *Deposed* by the rest of the Members of the *Episcopal College*. *Vacancy* by *Death* hath no Difficulties. I don't remember to have observed any Instances of *Cession* in St. *Cyprian*'s time; (tho there were some before, and many after;) Unless it was in the Case of *Basilides*, who, after he had forfeited his Title to that Sacred Dignity by being guilty of the dreadful Crimes of Idolatry and Blasphemy, is said to have *Laid it down*, and to have confessed, That he should be favourably dealt by, if thereafter he should be admitted to the *Communion of Laicks* [r]. We have Instances of *Deposition* in the same *Basilides* and *Martialis* [s], in *Marcianus* [t], *Privatus Lambesitanus* [u], *Evaristus* [v], *Fortunatianus* [w], and perhaps some more. However, these *Three*, I say, were the *only Causes* in which there could be a *Lawful Vacancy*.

[r] Ep. 67.
[s] Ibid.
[t] Ep. 68.
[u] Ep. 36.
[v] Ep. 50, & 52.
[w] Ep. 65.

3. When a *See* was thus Canonically *vacant*, it was filled after this manner: The Bishops of the Province, in which the Vacancy was, met, chooſed and ordained One in the presence of the People whom he was to Govern. This St. *Cyprian*, with other 36 Bishops, tells us, was of *Divine Institution*, and *Apostolical Observation*; And that it was the common Form, not only in *Africa*, but almost in every Province all the World over [x]. I know, 'tis controverted whether a Bishop, in those Times, was Chosen *by* the People, or only *in* the presence *of* the People? But my present purpose doth not engage me in that Controversie.

[x] *Propter quod diligenter de Traditione Divina & Apostolica Observatione servandum & tenendum est, quod apud nos quoque & fere per Provincias Universas tenetur, ut ad Ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam Plebem cui praepositus ordinatur, Episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ proximi quique conveniant, & Episcopus deligatur, Plebe præsente, &c.* Ep. 67. p. 172. Præter illud quod in hac eadem Epistola, De *Sabino*, legere est, hujus ritus, tanquam jam tum triti, in Successore, *Narcisso Hierosolymitano*, Substituendo, exemplum luculentum habes apud *Euseb.* l. 6. c. 10.

4. But Election was not enough: Tho the Person elected was already a Presbyter, and in Priestly Order; yet when he was to be Promoted to a Bishoprick, he was to receive a *new* Imposition of Hands, a *new* Ordination. His former Orders

Orders were not sufficient for that Supreme Office. Thus, *e.g.* St. *Cyprian* was first a Presbyter, and *then* Ordained Bishop of *Carthage*, if we may believe his Deacon *Pontius*, *Eusebius*, and St. *Jerome*[y]. Thus our Holy Martyr tells us, That *Cornelius had made his Advances, gradually, through all the inferior Stations*, and so, no doubt, had been a Presbyter, before he was a Bishop[z]. And yet we find, when he was Promoted to the *See* of *Rome*, he was *Ordained* by 16 *Bishops*[a]. Thus we find also, in the Promotion of *Sabinus* to the Bishoprick from which *Basilides* had fallen, that he was *Ordained* by the *Imposition of the Hands* of the Bishops who were then present at his Election[b]. Thus *Fortunatus*, *Achimnius*, *Optatus*, *Privatianus*, *Donatulus*, and *Felix*, 6 Bishops, *Ordained* a Bishop at *Capsis*[c]. Thus *Heraclas* was *first* a Presbyter under *Demetrius*, in the Church of *Alexandria*, and *then* succeeded to him in the Episcopal *Chair*[d]. *Dionysius* was *first* a Presbyter under *Heraclas*, and *then* succeeded to him[e]. And *Maximus*, who had been a Presbyter under *him*, succeeded to *Dionysius*[f]. And before all these, some 70 Years before St. *Cyprian*'s time, *Irenæus* was first a Presbyter under *Photinus*, and afterwards his Successor in the Bishoprick of *Lions*[g]. Nor is it to be doubted, that each of these was Raised to the Episcopal Dignity by a *new Ordination*. The first of the *Canons*, commonly called *Apostolical*, which requires, *That a Bishop be Ordained by two or three Bishops*, was, doubtless, all along observed[h]. Nay, this Necessity of a *new Ordination* for *Raising* One to the Episcopal Power, was so Notorious and Received *then*, that the *Schismaticks* themselves believed it indispensible. And therefore *Novatianus*, tho formerly a *Presbyter*, (as *Cornelius* tells expressly in that so often cited Epistle to *Fabius*,) when he *Rival'd* it with *Cornelius* for the *Chair* of *Rome*, that he might have the *shew*, at least, of a *Canonical Ordination*, he got three simple inconsiderate Bishops to come to the City, upon pretence of Consulting with other Bishops about settling the Commotions of the Church: And having them once in his Clutches, he shut them up under Lock and Key, till they were put in a scandalous Disorder, and then *forced* them to give him the *Episcopal Mission*, *by an imaginary and vain Imposition of Hands*, as *Cornelius* words it[i]. Thus also, when *Fortunatus*, *One* of the *Five Presbyters* who joyned with the

y Pontius *in vita* Cypr. Euseb. *Chron.* Hieron. *Catal.*

z *Per omnia Ecclesiastica Officia promotus — Ad Sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis gradibus ascendit. Ep.* 55. *p.* 103.

a *Ep.* 55. *p.* 112.

b *Ep.* 67. *p.* 172.

c *Ep.* 56. *p.* 115.

d *Euseb. H. E. lib.* 6. *c.* 19, 20.

e *Ibid.*

f *Lib.* 7. *c.* 11, 22, 28.

g *Euseb. H. E. l.* 5. *c.* 4, 5.

h Ἐπίσκοπον δύο ἢ τριῶν ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθαι. Ἐπισκόπων δὲ νῦν ὀλίγων τινῶν. *Canon. Apost.* 1.

i Μετὰ βίας ἀνάξιόν τινα ἐπισκοπὴν ἀναδήσασθαι ἐπιχειρήσαντι τινὶ ἀμαθεῖ καὶ ἀπειθεῖ ὄντι καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντι ἐπισκοπὴν ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν. *Euseb. l.* 6. *c.* 43.

the Schismatical *Felicissimus* against St. *Cyprian*, turned bold to set up as an Anti-Bishop at *Carthage*; He was *Ordained* by *Five false Bishops* [k]. And now, Sir, by this Account, I think we have our Author's Definition of a *Bishop*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, fairly routed a second time: For,

[k] *Ep.* 59. *p.* 113.

How could the Maxim of but *One Bishop*, at *once*, in a *Church* hold, if that *Bishop* was nothing but a *single Presbyter*? The Church of *Rome* was but *One Church*; so was the *Church* of *Carthage*: And yet, in each of these *Churches*, there were many *single Presbyters*. Again,

If a *Bishop*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was no more than a *single Presbyter*, in the Presbyterian Sense, what needed so much work about him? Why, *e. g.* convene all the *Presbyters* of a *Province*, such as *Africa* or *Numidia* was, for the *Election* and *Ordination* of a *single Presbyter* in *Carthage*, where there were Presbyters *more* than *enough* to have performed all the Business? What needed the Church of *Rome* to make such work about supplying such a Vacancy as was there, before *Cornelius* was Promoted? Why a Convention of *Sixteen* Neighbouring *Bishops* to give him Holy Orders? Might not the *Forty Six*, who lived in *Rome*, have served the *turn*? Might not these *Forty six*, I say, have filled *Fabianus* his *Room* with far greater *Ease* and *Expedition*? If they made such work, and had such Difficulties, (as we find they had about a *Bishop*,) in setling *One single Brother Presbyter*, when, according to our Author's Principles, they had the full Power of doing it, what had become of them, if *Thirty*, nay *Twenty*, nay *Ten* of the *Forty six*, had all died in one Year? Sure, they had never got so many Vacancies filled. And then,

Were not *Cornelius* and *Novatianus* Presbyters of *Rome*, before the former was the *True*, and the latter the *False Bishop* of that City? If so, what need of a *new Election*, and a *new Ordination* for making them *Presbyters* of a *Church*, of which they were *Presbyters* already? Had it not been pretty pleasant, in such a grave, serious, persecuted State of the Church, to have seen two eminent Men, already *Presbyters* of *Rome*, making so much work about being made *Presbyters* of *Rome*? And all the Clergy and Christians of *Rome*, nay sooner or later, of all the Christian World, engaged in the Quarrel? What had this been other than the very *Mystery* of *Ridiculousness*? But this is not all. The

The Premiſſes will as little allow him to have been a *Preſbyterian Moderator*: For, to what purpoſe ſo much ado about the Eſtabliſhment of a meer *Moderator* of a *Preſbytery*? Why, ſo much ſtreſs laid upon only *one Moderator* in a City? Why no *Canonical Vacancy* of his *Moderatorial Chair*, unleſs in the caſe of *Death*, *Ceſſion*, or *Forfeiture*? Sure, if they had then underſtood all the Exigencies and Analogies of *Parity*, they would not have been ſo much in love with a *conſtant Moderator*; no, they would have judged him *highly inconvenient, and by all means to be ſhunned: If he had been impoſed on the Meeting, it had been an Encroachment on their Intrinſick Power*; and ſo, *abſolutely unlawful, and Prelacy: And the Choſen by themſelves, fatal*; *as having a violent Tendency to Lordly Prelacy*: And therefore they could never have *yielded to have One with a Good Conſcience*[1]. Again,

[1] *Vide*, True Repreſentation of Preſb. Gov. *Prop.* 15.

How often did the *Preſbytery* of *Rome* meet, in the Interval between *Fabianus* his Death, and *Cornelius* his Promotion? How many excellent Epiſtles did they write to the Neighbouring Biſhops and Churches, and theſe, about the moſt weighty and important Matters during that Vacancy? They wrote that which is the *Eighth* in Number, amongſt St. *Cyprian*'s Epiſtles to the *Carthaginian* Clergy, and, at the ſame time, *One* to St. *Cyprian*, then in his Retirement, which is loſt, They wrote that notable Epiſtle, which is the *Thirtieth* in Number, in which they not only mention other of their Epiſtles which they had wrote to St. *Cyprian*, and which are not now extant; but alſo Epiſtles, one or more, which they had ſent to *Sicily*. They wrote alſo that conſiderable Epiſtle, which is in Number the *Thirty ſixth*. It is not to be doubted that they wrote many more. How many Meetings and Conſultations had they, during theſe *Sixteen Months*, about the Affairs of the Church, and particularly, the Caſe of the *Lapſi*, which was then ſo much agitated? Is it probable, that they wanted a *Moderator*; a *Mouth* of their *Meeting*; One to keep *Order* in the *manner* and *managing* of the Affairs were brought before them all that time, and in all thoſe Meetings? How could they, without one, handle Matters with Order and Decency? And what was there to hinder them from having *one*, if they had a mind for him? Might they not have choſen *one* as ſafely as they met? Might they not have choſen

one

one at every Meeting, according to the Principles of *Parity*? Farther:

What need of ſo much Parade about the *Election* of a *Moderator* of a *Presbytery*, as was then about the *Election* of a *Biſhop*? Why the *People choſe* him, according to the Principles of thoſe, who think that St. *Cyprian* was for *Popular Elections*? What was the *People*'s Intereſt? How was it their Concern, who was *Moderator* of the *Presbytery*? What was his Influence, *De jure*, at leaſt, in the Government of the Church, more than the Influence of any other Member of the Presbytery? Nay, is it not confeſſed, that, as *Moderator*, he was *no Church-Governour* at all? That he had no *Juriſdiction* over his Brethren? That his *Power* was only *Ordinative*, not *Deciſive*? To be the *Mouth* of the *Meeting*, not to be their *Will*, or *Commanding Faculty*? To keep *Order* in the *Manner* and *Managing* of what came before them, not to *determine* what was *Debated* amongſt them? Why then were the *People* ſo much concern'd about him? What Benefits, or what Harm, could redound to *them* by ones being *Moderator* of the *Presbytery*, whatever he was? Beſides, as I have ſhewed before, as *Moderator* of the *Presbytery*, he had *relation* only *to* the *Presbytery*: At leaſt, he had none directly, immediately, and formally to the *People*. What pretence, then, could the *People* have to Intereſt themſelves in his *Election*? Nay, ſay, (as I am apt to think it ought to be ſaid, I am ſure the contrary cannot be made appear from St. *Cyprian*,) that he was not choſen *by* the *People*, but only *in* their *Preſence*; and the ſame Argument will take place, as is obvious to any body. Farther yet.

What need of Convocating ſo many from the Neighbourhood for managing the *Election* of a *Moderator*, *E. g.* for the *Presbytery* of *Rome*? If a Biſhop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was nothing but a *Presbyterian Moderator*, then the *Biſhops* convocated for managing the *Election* of a *Moderator*, were *Moderators* too: And ſo, by conſequence, *Sixteen Moderators* of other *Presbyteries* met at *Rome* to conſtitute a *Moderator* for the *Roman Presbytery*. And might not the *Presbytery* of *Rome* have *choſen* their own *Moderator* without the Trouble or the Inſpection of *ſo many Moderators* of other Presbyteries? Once more.

What Neceſſity, nay, what Congruity, of a *new Impoſition of Hands*, of a *new Ordination*, a *new Miſſion* for conſtituting *One* a *Moderator* of a *Presbytery*? And this too, to be performed by *none* but *Moderators* of other *Presbyteries*? Thus, *e. g.* it behoved *Six Moderators* to meet at *Capſis*, to *Ordain* a *Moderator* for the *Presbytery* of *Capſis*; and *Sixteen* at *Rome*, to *Ordain* a *Moderator* for the *Presbytery* of *Rome*: And, after he was *Ordained*, it behoved *Novatianus* to be at ſo much pains to get together *Three Moderators*, to *Ordain* himſelf an *Anti-Moderator*. Who can think on theſe Things without ſmiling? But perhaps you may think, I have inſiſted on this Argument more than enough; and therefore I ſhall leave it, and proceed to other Conſiderations. To go on, then.

A Biſhop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, thus Elected, Ordained, and Poſſeſſed of his Chair, did bear a *double Relation*; *One* to the *particular Church* over which he was ſet, and *another* to the *Church Catholick*, an integrant part whereof, the particular Church, was, of which he was Biſhop. The conſideration of each of theſe *Relations* will furniſh us with freſh Arguments againſt our Author's *Hypotheſis*. I ſhall begin with the *Relation* he bore to his own *particular* Church. And,

FIRST: The firſt Thing I obſerve about him, in that regard, ſhall be, That he was the *Principle of Unity* to *Her*. Whoſoever adhered *to* him, and lived *in* his Communion, was *in* the Church a Catholick Chriſtian. Whoſoever ſeparated *from* him, was *out* of the Church, and a *Schiſmatick*. He was the *Head* of all the Chriſtians living within his *Diſtrict*; and they were *One Body*, *One Society*, *One Church*, by depending upon him, by being ſubject to him, by keeping to his Communion. He was the *Sun*, and they were the *Beams*; he was the *Root*, and they were the *Branches*; he was the *Fountain*, and they were the *Streams*; As St. *Cyprian* explains the Matter[a]. This is a Point of great Conſequence, eſpecially conſidering that it is the Foundation of the Apologiſt's Argument, our Author's Anſwer to which I am examining: and therefore, give me leave to handle it ſomewhat fully. And I proceed by theſe Steps.

[a] *Unit. Eccl. p.* 108.

1. There was nothing St. *Cyprian* and the Catholick Biſhops, his Contemporaries, valued more, reckoned of higher Importance,

tance, or laid greater Stress upon, than the *Unity* of the Church: And there was *no Sin* they represented at more Heinous, or more Criminal, than the *Sin* of *Schism*.

In their reckoning, *Unity* was the great *Badge* of *Christianity*; God heard the *Prayers* that were put up in *Unity* [b], but not those that were performed in *Schism*. Christian Peace, Brotherly Concord, and the Unity of People in the true Faith and Worship of God, was accounted of greater value by them, than all other imaginable Sacrifices [c]. Nothing afforded greater Pleasure to the Angels in Heaven, than Harmony amongst Christians on Earth [d]. It were easie to collect a thousand such Testimonies concerning the Excellency of *Unity*. But as for *Schism*, and *Schismaticks*, how may it make Men's Hearts to tremble, when they hear what *hard Names*, and what *horrid Notions*, these Primitive Worthies gave them, and had of them? *Schism*, to them, was the *Devil's Device* for *subverting* the *Faith*, *corrupting* the *Truth*, and *cutting Unity* [e]. *Christ* instituted the *Church*, and the *Devil Heresie* [f], or *Schism*; for both, then, went commonly under one Name. *Schism* was reckoned a greater Crime than *Idolatry* it self: And St. *Cyprian* proves it by several Arguments [g]. *Firmilian* affirms it also [h]. So doth *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, in his notable Epistle to *Novatianus*. He tells him, *He ought to have suffered the greatest Miseries, rather than divide the Church of God: That Martyrdom, for the Preservation of Unity, was as Glorious, as Martyrdom for not Sacrificing to Idols: Nay, more, Because he who Suffers rather than be will Sacrifice, Suffers only for saving his own Soul; But he that Suffers for Unity, Suffers for the whole Church* [i]. *Schismaticks* had not the *Spirit* [k]; Were *forsaken* of the *Spirit* [l]; *Held* not the *Faith* [m]; Had neither *Father*, *Son*, nor *Holy-Ghost* [n]. They were *Renegadoes* [o]; *Apostates* [p]; *Malignants* [q]; *Parricides* [r]; *Anti-Christs* [s]; *False Christs* [t]; *Christ's Enemies* [u]; *Blasphemers* [v]; *The Devil's Priests* [vv]; *Retainers to Corah* [x]; *Retainers to Judas* [y]; *Villainous and Perfidious* [z]; *Aliens*, *Profane*, *Enemies* [a]; *Were without Hope* [b];

[b] *Unit. Eccl. p.* 112.

[c] *Sacrificium Deo majus est Pax nostra, & fraterna concordia, & de unitate Patris & Spiritus Sancti plebs adunata.* Cyp. *de Orat. Dom. p.* 149.

[d] Firmil. *Ep. inter Cyprianicas* 75. *p.* 217.

[e] *Cyp. Un. Eccl. p.* 105.

[f] *Conc Carth. Suff.* 60.

[g] *Un. Eccl. p.* 117.

[h] *Firmil. Ep. inter Cypr.* 75. *p.* 227.

[i] *Euseb. H. E. l.* 6. *c.* 45.

[k] *Cyp. Ep.* 69. *p.* 185.

[l] *Ibid. Ep.* 59. *p.* 138.

[m] *Un. Eccl. p.* 108, 109. [n] *Conc. Carth. Suff.* 10. [o] *Cyp. Ep.* 51. *p.* 95. [p] *Ep.* 55. *p.* 103. [q] *Ibid. p.* 105. [r] *Ep.* 57. *p.* 117. [s] *Conc. Carth Suff.* 1, 11, 64, 87. *Ep.* 69. *p.* 180. [t] *Conc. Carth. Suff.* 5. [u] *Ib. Suff.* 7, & 21. [v] *Suff.* 1, 31. [vv] *Suff.* 1. [x] *Un. Eccl. p.* 116. [y] *Cyp. de Orat. Dom. p.* 150. [z] *Un. Eccl. p.* 116. [a] *Ibid. p.* 109. [b] *Cyp. Ep.* 69. *p.* 182.

Had no Right to the Promises [c]; *Could not be saved* [d]; *Were Infidels* [e]; *Worse than Heathens* [f]; *Self-Condemned* [g]; *Were no more Christians than the Devil* [h]; *Could not belong to Christ* [i]; *Could not go to Heaven* [k]; *The hottest part of Hell their Portion* [l]; *Their Society, the Synagogue of Satan* [m]; *Their Conventicles, Dens of Thieves* [n]; *They were Destroyers of Souls* [o]; *Their Preaching was poysonous* [p]; *Their Baptism pestiferous* [q], *and profane* [r]; *Their Sacrifices abominable* [s]; *They could not be Martyrs* [t]; *Their Company was to be avoided* [u]: *Whoso befriended them, were Persecutors of the Truth* [v]; *Were Betrayers of Christ's Spouse to Adulterers* [vv]; *Were Betrayers of Unity* [x]; *Were involved in the same Guilt with them* [y]. In short, *Schismaticks, by being such, were*, Ipso facto, *Persecutors of the Church* [z], *Enemies of Mercy* [a], *Infatuated Salt* [b], and *Cursed of God* [c].

[c] *Un. Eccl.* p. 109.
[d] *Cyp. Ep.* 4. p. 9.
[e] *Conc. Carth. Suff.* 1.
[f] *Suff.* 37.
[g] *Ep* 59. p. 140.
[h] *Un. Eccl.* p. 114. *Con. Carth. Suff.* 24.
[i] *Ep.* 55. p. 112.
[k] *Un. Eccl.* p. 114.
[l] *Ibid.*
[m] *Ep.* 69. p. 182.
[n] *Con. Carth. Suff.* 60.
[o] *Ep.* 73. p. 207.
[p] *Un. Eccl.* p. 111. *Con. Carth. Suff.* 29, *Ep.* 43. p. 83.
[q] *Ep.* 72. p. 197.
[r] *Un. Eccl.* p. 182.
[s] *Ep.* 69. p. 180.
[t] *Un. Eccl.* p. 113.
[u] *P.* 114, 117. *in Ep. passim.*
[v] *Un. Eccl.* p. 115. *Ep.* 59. p. 140.
[vv] *Con. Carth. Suff.* 38.
[x] *Ibid. Suff.* 49, 58, 61.
[y] *Ep.* 73. p. 203.
[z] *Ep.* 69. p. 184.
[a] *Ep.* 43. p. 82, 85.
[b] *Ep.* 60. p. 142.
[c] *Con. Carth. Suff.* 7.
Ibid. Suff. 1.

Such, I say, were the Notions the Holy Fathers, in those early Times of the Church, had of Schismaticks; and such were the Names they gave them. And certainly whoso seriously considers how much *Schism* is condemned in Holy Writ; what an *Enemy* it is to the *Peace*, the *Power*, and the *Propagation* of *Christianity*; and how much it stands in opposition to the *Holy*, *Humble*, *Peaceable*, *Patient*, *Meek*, and *Charitable Spirit* of the *Gospel*: Whoso considers, that our Blessed Saviour's great Errand into the World, was to *Unite all* his *Disciples* here into *one Body*, and *one Communion*, that they might Eternally be Blessed in the full Enjoyment of *one Communion* with the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy-Ghost*, in Heaven hereafter: Whoso, I say, considers these Things, cannot but confess, that *Schism* and *Schismaticks deserve* all these *hard Names*, and *answer* all these *terrible Notions*. Now,

2. That, for the Preservation of Unity, and the Preventing of Schism, in every particular Church, all were bound by the Principles of St. *Cyprian*'s Age to *live* in the *Bishops Communion*; and to own and look upon him as the *Principle of Unity* to that Church of which he was *Head* and *Ruler*, might be made appear from a vast Train of Testimonies.

But

But I ſhall content myſelf with a few. Thus, for Example, when ſome of the *Lapſed* preſumed to write to St. *Cyprian*, and deſign themſelves, without a Biſhop, by the Name of a *Church*; How did the Holy Man reſent it? Conſider how he begins his Anſwer to them. *Our Lord*, (ſays he) *whoſe Precepts we ought to Honour and Obey, inſtituting the Honour of a Biſhop, and the Contexture of a Church, ſaith thus to* Peter *in the Goſpel*; I ſay unto thee, thou art *Peter*, and upon this *Rock* will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it: And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, *&c. From thence by the Viciſſitudes of Times and Succeſſions, the Ordination of Biſhops, and the Frame of the Church, are tranſmitted ſo, as that the Church is built upon the Biſhops, and all her Affairs are ordered by them as the chief Rulers: And therefore, ſeeing this is God's appointment, I cannot but admire the bold Temerity of ſome, who, writing to me, call themſelves a Church; when a Church is only to be found in the Biſhop, the Clergy, and the faithful Chriſtians. God forbid, that a number of Lapſed ſhould be called a Church,* &c. Conſider how he Reaſons. By Divine Inſtitution, there cannot be a Church without a Biſhop: The Church is founded on the Biſhop: The Biſhop, as Chief Ruler, orders all the Affairs of the Church: Therefore, thoſe Lapſed ought not to have called themſelves a Church, ſeeing they had no Biſhop, no Principle of Unity[d]. We have another notable Reaſoning, as well as Teſtimony of his, in his 43d Epiſtle, written to his People of *Carthage* upon the breaking out of *Felicisſimus* his *Schiſm*. *God is One*, (ſays he) *and Chriſt is One, and the Church is One, and the Chair is One, by our Lord's own Voice, founded on St.* Peter. *Another Altar cannot be reared, another Prieſthood cannot be erected, beſides the One Altar, and the One Prieſthood. Whoſo gathereth elſewhere, ſcattereth. Whatever Human Fury inſtitutes, againſt God's Appointment, is Adulte-*

[d] *Dominus noſter, cujus præcepta metuere & obſervare debemus, Epiſcopi honorem, & Eccleſiæ ſuæ Rationem diſponens in Evangelio, Loquitur & dicit* Petro; Ego dico tibi, quia tu es *Petrus*, & ſuper iſtam *Petram* ædificabo Eccleſiam meam, & portæ inferorum non vincent eam; Et tibi dabo claves regni Cælorum, *&c.*—— *Inde per temporum & ſucceſſionum vices, Epiſcoporum Ordinatio, & Eccleſiæ ratio decurrit, ut Eccleſia ſuper Epiſcopos conſtituatur: Et omnes actus Eccleſiæ per eoſdem præpoſitos Gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque Divina lege fundamentum ſit, miror quoſdam audaci temeritate ſic mihi ſcribere voluiſſe, ut Eccleſiæ nomine literas facerent: Quando Eccleſia in Epiſcopo & Clero, & in omnibus ſtantibus ſit conſtituta: Abſit enim, ne Domini miſericordia & poteſtas ejus invidiam patiatur, ut Eccleſia eſſe dicatur Lapſorum numerus.* Ep. 33. p. 66.

rous,

rous, is Impious, is Sacrilegious. And a little after: O Brethren! Let no Man make you wander from the Ways of the Lord: O Christians! Let no Man rend you from the Gospel of Christ: Let no Man tear the Sons of the Church from the Church: Let them perish alone, who will needs perish: Let them abide alone out of the Church, who have departed from the Church: Let them, alone, not be with the Bishops, who have Rebelled against the Bishops [e], &c. And, as I observed before, in his Epistle to *Florentinus Pupianus*, he defines a *Church* to be *a People united to their Priest, and a Flock adhering to their Pastor*, &c. and from thence tells *Pupianus*, That he ought to consider, that the *Bishop* is in the *Church*, and the *Church* in the *Bishop*: So that if any are not *with* the *Bishop*, they are not *in* the *Church* [f]. And how concernedly doth he Reason the Case in his Book of the *Unity of the Church*? *Can he seem to himself*, says he, *to be with Christ, who is against Christ's Priests? Who separates himself from the Society of Christ's Clergy and People? That Man bears Arms against the Church: He fights against God's Ordinance: He is an Enemy of the Altar: A Rebel against Christ's Sacrifice. He is Perfidious, and not Faithful; Sacrilegious, and not Religious. He is an Undutiful Servant, an Impious Son, an Hostile Brother, who can contemn God's Bishops, and forsake his Priests, and dares to set up another Altar, and offer up unlawful Prayers* [g], &c. Indeed, in that same Book he calls the *Bishop*, *The Glue that cements Christians into the solid Unity of the Church* [h]. And hence it is,

[e] *Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una super* Petrum *Domini voce fundata. Aliud Altare constitui, aut Sacerdotium novum fieri, præter unum Altare, & unum Sacerdotium, non potest. Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit. Adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quodcunque humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio Divina violetur*—— *Nemo vos, fratres, errare a Domini viis faciat: Nemo vos Christianos ab Evangelio Christi rapiat: Nemo filios Ecclesiæ de Ecclesia tollat: Pereant sibi soli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Ecclesiam soli remaneant, qui de Ecclesia rece ssirunt. Soli cum Episcopis non sint, qui contra Episcopos Rebellarunt. Ep.* 43. *p.* 83, 84.

[f] *Vide supra, pag.* 8. vv.

[g] *An esse sibi cum Christo videtur, qui adversus Sacerdotes Christi facit? Qui se a Cleri ejus & plebis Societate secernit? Arma ille contra Ecclesiam portat. Contra Dei dispositionem pugnat. Hostis Altaris; adversus Sacrificium Christi Rebellis; pro Fide, Perfidus; pro Religione, Sacrilegus; inobsequens servus; Filius impius; Frater inimicus; contemptis Episcopis & Dei Sacerdotibus derelictis. Constituere audis aliud Altare, precem alteram, illicitis vocibus fatere, &c.* De Unit. Eccl. *p.* 116.

[h] *Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia ejus, & Fides una, & Plebs in solidam Corporis unitatem, Concordiæ glutino copulata.* Ibid. *p.* 119.

3. That St. *Cyprian*, every where, makes the Contempt of the *One Bishop*, or Undutifulness to him, the *Origine* of *Schisms* and

and *Hereſies*. Thus, *Epiſt.* 3. he makes this Obſervation upon the Undutifulneſs of a certain Deacon to *Rogatianus*, his Biſhop; That *ſuch are the firſt Efforts of Hereticks, and the Out-breaking and Preſumptions of ill-adviſed Schiſmaticks: They follow their own Fancies, and, in the Pride of their Hearts, contemn their Superiours. So Men ſeparate from the Church: So they Erect profane Altars without the Church: So they Rebel againſt Chriſtian Peace, and Divine Order and Unity*[i]. And, *Ep.* 59. he tells *Cornelius*, That *Hereſies and Schiſms ſpring from this only Fountain, That God's Prieſt* (the Biſhop) *is not obeyed; And Men don't conſider, that, at the ſame time, there ought to be only One Biſhop, only One Judge, as Chriſt's Vicar, in a Church*[k]. And *Ep.* 66. to *Florentius Pupianus*, That *from hence Hereſies and Schiſms have hitherto ſprung, and do daily ſpring; That the Biſhop, who is One, and is ſet over the Church, is contemned by the proud Preſumption of ſome: And he that is honoured of God, is diſhonoured by Men*[l]. And a little after, he tells him, (alluding clearly to the Monarchical Power of Biſhops) That *Bees have a King; and Beaſts have a Captain; and Robbers, with all humility, obey their Commander*: And from thence he concludes, *how unreaſonable it muſt be for Chriſtians not to pay ſuitable Regards to their Biſhops*[m]. And in another place, *Then is the Bond of our Lord's Peace broken; then is Brotherly Charity violated; then is the Truth adulterated, and Unity divided; then Men leap out into Hereſies and Schiſms*: When? *When the Prieſts are controlled; when the Biſhops are envied; when one grudges that himſelf was not rather preferred; or diſdains to bear with a Superiour*[n]. Indeed,

[i] *Hæc ſunt enim initia Hæreticorum, & Ortus atque Conatus Schiſmaticorum male cogitantium, ut ſibi placeant, & Præpoſitum ſuperbo tumore contemnant. Sic de Eccleſia recedituri; ſic Altare profanum, furis, collocatur; ſic contra pacem Chriſti, & Ordinationem atque Unitatem Dei Rebellatur. Ep.* 3. *p.* 6.

[k] *Neque enim aliunde Hæreſes obortæ ſunt, aut natæ ſunt Schiſmata quam inde, quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur: Nec unus in Eccleſia, ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex, vice Chriſti cogitatur. Ep* 59. *p.* 129.

[l] *Inde enim Schiſmata & Hæreſes Obortæ ſunt & Oriuntur, dum Epiſcopus qui unus eſt, & Eccleſiæ præeſt, ſuperba quorundam Præſumptione contemnitur; & homo Dignitate Dei honoratus, indignus ab hominibus judicatur. Ep.* 66. *p.* 167.

[m] *Apes habent Regem, & ducem Pecudes, & fidem ſervant Latrones; Mancipi obſequio pleno humilitatis obtemperant. Quanto ſimpliciores & meliores vobis ſunt bruta pecudes, & muta animalia, & cruenti licet ac furentes inter Gladios, atque inter arma prædones? Præpoſitus ille agnoſcitur & timetur, quem non Sententia Divina conſtituit, ſed in quem factio perdita, & nocens Caterva conſentit.* Ibid.

[n] *Hinc Dominicæ pacis vinculum rumpitur; hinc Charitatis fraterna violatur; hinc adulteratur veritas; unitas ſciuditur; ad Hæreſes & Schiſmata Proſilitur: Dum obtrectatur Sacerdotibus; dum Epiſcopis invidetur; cum quis aut quæritur non ſe potius Ordinatum, aut dedignatur alterum ferre præpoſitum.* De Zelo & Livore, *p.* 223.

4. By

4. By the Principles of those Times, the Bishop was so much the *Principle of Unity* to the Church which he Governed; the whole Society had such a Dependance on him, was so *Virtually* in him, and represented by him; that what he *did*, as Bishop, was reputed the *Deed* of the whole Church which he Ruled. If he was Oxthodox and Catholick, so was the Body united to him reckoned to be. If Heretical or Schismatical, it went under the same Denomination. If he *denied* the Faith, whoso adhered to him, after that, were reputed to have *denied* it. If he *confessed* the Faith, the whole Church was reckoned to have *confessed* it in him. Thus,

We find, when *Martialis* and *Basilides*, two *Spanish* Bishops, committed Idolatry, and so forfeited their Bishopricks, and yet some of their People inclined to continue in their Communion; St. *Cyprian*, with other 36 Bishops, tells those People, That it behoved them not to flatter themselves, by thinking, that they could *continue to Communicate with Polluted Bishops, and withal, themselves continue Pure and Unpolluted: For all that communicated with them, would be Partakers of their Guilt: And therefore*, (as they go on,) *a People obeying and fearing God ought to separate from Criminal Bishops, and be careful not to mix with them in their Sacrilegious Sacrifices*[o]. And again, in that same Synodical Epistle, they say, That *it was a neglecting of Divine Discipline, and an Unaccountable Rashness to Communicate with* Martialis *and* Basilides: For *whosoever joyned with them in their Unlawful Communions, were Polluted by the Contagion of their Guilt: And whosoever were Partakers with them in the Crime, would not be separated from them in the Punishment* [p]. Indeed this is the great Purpose of that 67th Epistle; as also of the 68th concerning *Marcianus*, who, by Communicating with *Novatianus*, had rendred his own Communion Infectious and Abominable[q].

[o] *Nec sibi Plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse a Contagio delicti possit, cum Sacerdote peccatore Communicans, & ad injustum & illicitum præpositi sui Episcopatum, consensum suum commodans; quando per Oseæ Prophetam* (Hos. 9. 4.) *comminatur & dicat Censura Divina — Dicent Scil. & Ostendens, omnes omnino ad peccatum constringi, qui fuerint profani & injusti Sacerdotis Sacrificio contaminati — Propter quod plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, & Deum metuens a peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad Sacrilegi Sacerdotis sacrificia miscere.* Ep. 67. p. 171.

[p] *Quare etsi aliqui de Collegis nostris — Deificam Disciplinam negligendam putant, & cum* Basilide & Martiale *temere communicant — Tamen, qui malis & peccatoribus — Illicita Communione miscentur, nocentium factibus polluuntur; & dum junguntur in culpa, sic nec in pœna separantur.* Ibid. p. 175. [q] Ep. 68.

On

On the other hand, when *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* confeſſed the Faith before the Heathen Perſecutors, St. *Cyprian* ſays, *The whole Roman Church confeſſed*[r]. And when *Cyprian* himſelf, having confeſſed, received the Sentence of Death; being then at *Utica*, he wrote to his Presbyters, Deacons, and People, at *Carthage*, telling them how earneſt he was to Suffer at *Carthage*; *Becauſe*, as he Reaſons, *it was moſt Congruous and Becoming, That a Biſhop ſhould confeſs Chriſt, in that City, in which he Ruled Chriſt's Church; That, by Confeſſing in their Preſence, they might be all Ennobled: For whatever*, ſays he, *in the moment of Confeſſion, the Confeſſing Biſhop ſpeaks, GOD aſſiſting him, he ſpeaks with the* MOUTH OF ALL. And he goes on, telling them, *How the Honour of their Glorious Church of* Carthage *ſhould be mutilated*, (as he words it,) *if he ſhould Suffer at* Utica; *eſpecially, conſidering how earneſt and frequent he had been in his Prayers and Wiſhes, That he might, both for* HIMSELF *and* THEM, *Confeſs in their Preſence at* Carthage[s]. And upon the ſame Principle it was, that he ſo frequently call'd his People, *His Bowels, His Body, The Members of his Body:* And that he affirm'd, That *their Griefs were his Griefs; Their Wounds, his Wounds; Their Diſtreſſes, his Diſtreſſes*[t], &c. Upon the ſame Principle it was alſo, that *Pontius* his Deacon, having accounted how our Holy Martyr was executed, in preſence of the People, falls out into this Rapture: *O bleſſed People of the Church of* Carthage, *that Suffered together with ſuch a Biſhop, with their Eyes and Senſes, and, which is more, with open Voice, and was Crowned with him! For tho' all could not Suffer in real Effect, according to their common Wiſhes, nor really be Partakers of that Glory; yet whoſoever were ſincerely willing to Suffer, in the ſight of Chriſt who was looking on, and in the Hearing of their Biſhop, did, in a manner, ſend an Embaſſy to Heaven, by One who was a competent Witneſs of their Wiſhes*[u].

[r] *Virtus illîc Epiſcopi præcedentis, publicè comprobata eſt; adunatio ſequentis fraternitatis Oſtenſa eſt; dum apud vos, unus animus & una vox eſt,* Eccleſia omnis Romana Confeſſa eſt. *Ep.* 61. *p.* 141.

[s] *Eo quod congruat Epiſcopum in ea Civitate in qua Eccleſiæ Dominicæ præeſt, illîc Dominum confiteri, & Plebem univerſam, præpoſiti præſentis Confeſſione clarificari. Quidcunque enim ſub illo Confeſſionis momento, Confeſſor Epiſcopus loquitur, aſpirante Deo,* ORE OMNINM *loquitur, cæterum mutabilitur Honor Eccleſiæ noſtræ tam Glorioſæ, ſi ego Epiſcopus alterius Eccleſiæ præpoſitus, acceptâ, apud* Uticam, *ſuper confeſſione, ſententiâ, exinde Martyr ad Dominum proficiſcar; quandoquidem Ego & pro* ME *& pro* VOBIS *apud* VOS *confiteri, & ibi pati, & exinde ad Dominum proficiſci, Orationibus continuis Deprecer, &c. Ep.* 81. *p.* 238, 239.

[t] *Vide Ep.* 17. *p.* 39. *&* De Lapſis, *p.* 122, 123. *fuſe.*

[u] *O beatum Eccleſiæ populum, qui Epiſcopo ſuo tali, & Oculis pariter & ſenſibus, & quod amplius eſt, publicata voce compaſſus eſt, & ſicut ipſo tractante ſemper audierat, Deo judice*

Coronatus eſt. Quamvis enim non potuerit evenire, quod optabant vota communia, ut conſortio pacis Gloriæ ſimul Plebs tota patceretur; quicunque ſub Chriſti ſpectantis Oculis, & ſub auribus Sacerdotis ex animo pati voluit, per idoneum voti ſui teſtem, Legationis quodam modo literas ad Deum miſit. Pontius *in vita* Cyp. *p.* 10.

5. Neither was this of the *Biſhop*'s being the *Principle of Unity* to the Church which he govern'd a Novel Notion, newly *Minted* in the *Cyprianic* Age: For, beſides that Epiſcopacy was generally believed, *then*, to be of *Divine Inſtitution*; beſides, that St. *Cyprian* ſtill Argues upon the *Suppoſition* of a *Divine Inſtitution*, as particularly, in the ſame very Caſe of the *Biſhops* being the *Principle of Unity*, as may be ſeen in his Reaſoning againſt the *Lapſed*, which I have already cited from *Ep.* 33. and might be more fully made appear, if it were needful. Beſides theſe Things, I ſay, we have the ſame thing frequently inſiſted on by the Holy *Ignatius*, who was Contemporary with the Apoſtles, in his Genuine Epiſtles. Thus, for Inſtance, in his Epiſtle to the Church of *Smyrna*, he tells them, That *that is only a firm and ſolid Communion which is under the Biſhop, or allowed by him*; and, *That the Multitude ought ſtill to be with the Biſhop*[v]. Plainly importing this much at leaſt, That there can be no True Chriſtian Communion, unleſs it be in the Unity of the Church; and there can be no Communion in the Unity of the Church, in oppoſition to the Biſhop. And, in his Epiſtle to the *Philadelphians*, *Theſe who belong to God, and Jeſus Chriſt, are with the Biſhops*; *and theſe are God's that they may live by Jeſus Chriſt, who, forſaking their Sins, come into the Unity of the Church*[vv]. And again, in that ſame Epiſtle, *God doth not dwell where there is Diviſion and Wrath: God only Pardons thoſe, who, Repenting, joyn in the Unity of God, and in Society with the Biſhops*[x]. And he has alſo that ſame very Notion, of the Biſhops being ſo much the Principle of Unity, that, as it were, the whole Church is repreſented in him. Thus he tells the *Epheſians*, that *he received their whole Body, in their Biſhop* Oneſi-

[v] Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ.

[vv] Ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω. *Edit. Lond.* 1680. *p.* 6.

[vv] Ὅσοι γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσίν. Καὶ Ὅσοι ἂν μετανοήσαντες ἔλθωσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὗτοι Θεοῦ ἔσονται, ἵνα ὦσιν κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ζῶντες. *p.* 40.

[x] Οὐ γὰρ μερισμοὺς ποιεῖ καὶ ὀργὴν, Θεὸς ὁ κατοικῶν· πᾶσιν οἷς μετανοοῦσιν, ἀφίει ὁ Κύριος ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα Θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου. *p.* 43.

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mus [y]. And in his Epistle to the *Trallians*, he tells them, that in *Polybius* their *Bishop*, *who came to him at* Smyrna, *he beheld their whole Society* [z].

[y] Ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπληθείαν ὑμῶν, ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ τῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδιαγήτῳ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ Ἐπισκόπῳ. *p.* 17.

[z] —Καθὼς ἐδήλωσεν μοὶ Πολύβιος ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ὑμῶν— Ὥστε μὲ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ Θεωρῆσα. *p.* 47.

6. Indeed, this Principle, of the Bishop's being the *Center* of Unity to his Church, was most reasonable and accountable in it self. Every particular Church is an *Organiz'd Political Body*; and there can be no Unity in an *Organical Body*, whether *Natural* or *Political*, without a *Principle of Unity*, on which all the Members must hang, and from which, being separated, they must *cease* to be Members: And who so fit for being this *Principle of Unity* to a Church, as he who was *Pastor*, *Ruler*, *Governour*, *Captain*, *Head*, *Judge*, *Christ's Vicar*, *&c.* in relation to that Church? This was the True Foundation of that other Maxim which I insisted on before, *viz.* That there could be but *One Bishop*, at *once*, in a Church? Why so? Why? Because it was Monstrous for *One Body* to have *Two Heads*, for *One Society* to have *Two Principles of Unity*.

If what I have said does not satisfie you, (thô, in all conscience, it ought, it being scarcely possible to prove any thing of this Nature more demonstratively,) then be pleased only to consider the necessary Connexion that is betwixt this Principle, and that which I am next to prove; and that is,

SECONDLY, That by the Principles of those Times, a *Bishop*, Canonically Promoted, was *Supreme* in his Church; *immediately subject* to *Jesus Christ*; independent on any, unaccountable to any Earthly Ecclesiastical *Superiour*. There was no Universal Bishop, then, under *Jesus Christ*, who might be the *Supreme visible Head* of the *Catholick visible Church*. There was, indeed, an *Universal Bishoprick*; but it was not *holden* by any *One single Person*. There was an *Unus Episcopatus*; *One Episcopacy*, *One Episcopal Office*, *One Bishoprick*; but it was *divided into many Parts*; and *every Bishop had his*

share of it assigned him, to Rule and Govern with the Plenitude of the Episcopal Authority[a]. There was *One Church all the World over, divided into many Members*; *and there was One Episcopacy diffused in proportion to that One Church, by the Harmonious Numerosity of many Bishops*[b]. Or, if you would have it in other words, the *One Catholick Church* was divided into many *Precincts, Districts*, or *Dioceses*; call them as you will: Each of those *Districts* had its *singular Bishop*; and *that Bishop*, within *that District*, had the *Supreme Power*. He was subordinate to none but the Great Bishop of Souls, *Jesus Christ*, the only Universal Bishop of the Universal Church. He was independent on, and stood collateral with all other Bishops. There's nothing more fully, or more plainly, or more frequently insisted on by St. *Cyprian*, than this Great Principle. I shall only give you a short view of it from him and his Contemporaries. And,

1. He lays the Foundation of it in the *Parity* which our Lord instituted amongst his *Apostles*. *Christ*, says he, *gave Equal Power to all his Apostles when he said, As my Father hath sent me, even so I send you, Receive ye the Holy-Ghost*[c], &c. And again, *The rest of the Apostles were the same that St.* Peter *was, endued with an Equality of Power and Honour*[d]. Now St. *Cyprian*, on all occasions, makes Bishops *Successors to the Apostles*, as perchance I may prove fully hereafter. Thus, I say, he founds the *Equality* of *Bishops*, and, by consequence, every *Bishop's Supremacy* within his own *Diocess*. And agreeably, he Reasons most frequently. I shall only give you a few Instances.

2. Then, in that excellent Epistle to *Antonianus*, discoursing concerning the Case of the *Lapsed*, and shewing how, upon former Occasions, different Bishops had taken different Measures about restoring Penitents to the Peace of the Church, he concludes with this General Rule, *That every Bishop, so long as he maintains the Bond of Concord, and preserves Catholick Unity, has Power to order the Affairs of his own Church, as he shall be accountable to God*[e]. Plainly importing, that no Bishop can give Laws to another, or call him to an Account for his Management. To the same purpose is the conclusion

[a] *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* Cyp. *de* Un. Eccl. p. 108.

[b] *Et cum sit a Christo una Ecclesia, per totum Mundum in multa Membra divisa; item, Episcopatus unus Episcoporum multorum Concordi numerositate diffusus, &c.* Ep. 55. p. 112.

[c] *Et quamvis Apostolis omnibus* PAREM *potestatem tribuat & dicat, &c.* Un. Eccl. p. 107.

[d] *Hoc erant utique cæteri Apostoli quod fuit* Petrus; PARI CONSORTIO *præditi & honoris & potestatis.* Ibid.

[e] *Manente concordiæ vinculo, & perseverante Catholicæ Ecclesiæ individuo Sacramento, actum suum disponit & dirigit unusquisque Episcopus, rationem præpositi sui Domino redditurus.* Ep. 55. p. 110.

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of his Epiſtle to *Jubaianus*, about the *Baptiſm* of *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks*. *Theſe Things, moſt dear Brother*, ſays he, *I have written to you, as I was able, neither preſcribing to, nor impoſing on any Man, ſeeing every Biſhop hath full Power to do as he judges moſt fitting* [f], &c. The ſame way he concludes his Epiſtle to *Magnus*, concerning that ſame Caſe of *Baptiſm* performed by Hereticks [g]. To the ſame purpoſe is the whole Strain of his Epiſtle to *Florentius Pupianus* [h]. And what can be more clear, or full, than his excellent Diſcourſe at the opening of the *Council* of *Carthage*, *Anno* 256? More than Eighty Biſhops met, to determine concerning that ſame matter of Baptiſm adminiſtred by Hereticks or Schiſmaticks. St. *Cyprian* was *Præſes*; and having briefly repreſented to them the Occaſion of their Meeting, he ſpoke to them thus: *It remains now, that each of us ſpeak his Senſe freely, judging no Man, refuſing our Communion to no Man, tho he ſhould diſſent from us: For none of us conſtitutes himſelf Biſhop of Biſhops, nor forces his Collegues upon a neceſſity of Obeying by a Tyrannical Terror; ſeeing every Biſhop is intirely Maſter of his own Reſolutions, and can no more be judged by others, than he can judge others: But we all expect the Judgment of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who alone hath Power of making us Governours of his Church, and calling us to an Account for our Adminiſtrations* [i].

[f] *Hæc tibi breviter, pro noſtra Mediocritate, reſcripſimus, Frater cariſſime, nemini præſcribentes aut præjudicantes quo minus unuſquiſque Epiſcoporum, quod putat, faciat, habens arbitrii ſui liberam poteſtatem.* Ep. 73. p. 210.

[g] Ep. 69. p. 188.

[h] Ep. 66.

[i] *Supereſt ut de hac ipſa re, ſinguli, quid ſentiamus, proferamus; neminem judicantes, aut a jure Communionis aliquem, ſi diverſum ſenſerit, amoventes. Neque enim quiſquam noſtrum* Epiſcopum *ſe* Epiſcoporum *conſtituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obſequendi neceſſitatem Collegas ſuos adigit; quando habeat omnis Epiſcopus, pro licentia libertatis & poteſtatis ſuæ, arbitrium proprium; tamque ab alio judicari non poſſit, quam nec ipſe poterit judicare: Sed expectemus univerſi judicium Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, qui unus & ſolus habet poteſtatem & præponendi nos in Eccleſiæ ſuæ Gubernatione & de actibus noſtro judicandi.* Opp. Cyp. *Tom.* 1. *p.* 229.

3. Neither did the Principle hold only in reſpect of this or the other Biſhop; but all without Exception, even the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſtood upon a Level. And for this, we have as pregnant Proof as poſſibly can be deſired: For when the Schiſmatical Party at *Carthage* ſet up *Fortunatus* as an *Anti-Biſhop*, and thereupon ſent ſome of their *Partiſans* to *Rome* to inform *Cornelius* of their Proceedings, and juſtifie them to him; *Cyprian* wrote to him alſo, and thus Reaſoned the Caſe with him. *To what Purpoſe was it for them to go to* Rome *to tell you, that they had ſet up a falſe Biſhop againſt the Biſhops? Either they*

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continue in their Wickedneſs, and are pleaſed with what they have done; or they are Penitent, and willing to return to the Churches Unity: If the latter, they know whither they may return: For ſeeing it is determined by us all, and withal, 'tis juſt and reaſonable in it ſelf, That every one's Cauſe ſhould be examined where the Crime was committed; and ſeeeng there is a Portion of the Flock (the Catholick Church) *aſſigned to every Biſhop to be Governed by him, as he ſhall be accountable to God; our Subjects ought not to run about from Biſhop to Biſhop, nor break the Harmonius Concord which is amongſt Biſhops by their ſubtle and fallacious Temerity: But every Man's Cauſe ought there to be diſcuſſed, where he may have Accuſers and Witneſſes of his Crime*[k], &c. In which Reaſoning, we have theſe Things plain: 1. That, by St. *Cyprian's* Principles, every Biſhop was Judge of his own Subjects; of all the Chriſtians who lived within his Diſtrict. 2. That no Biſhop, no not the Biſhop of *Rome*, was Superiour to another Biſhop; nor could receive Appeals from his Sentences. And, 3. That this Independency of Biſhops, this Unaccountableneſs of one Biſhop to another, as to his Superiour, was founded on every Biſhop's having his Portion of the Flock aſſigned to him, to be Ruled and Governed by him, as he ſhould anſwer to God; *i. e.* upon his viſible *Supremacy* in his own Church; his being immediately Subordinate to God only. To the ſame purpoſe he writes to *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome* alſo: For having told him his Mind freely concerning thoſe who ſhould return from a State of Schiſm, to the Unity of the Church; how they ought to be Treated, and how Received, *&c.* he concludes thus: *We know that ſome are tenacious, and unwilling to alter what they have once determined; and that they will needs retain ſome Methods peculiar to themſelves; but ſtill with the Safety of Peace, and Concord with their Collegues: In which caſe, we offer Violence, we proſcribe Laws to no Man, ſeeing every Biſhop has full liberty in the Adminiſtration of the Affairs of his Church, as he will anſwer to God*[l].

[k] *Quæ autem cauſa veniendi & Pſeudo-Epiſcopum contra Epiſcopos factum nuntiandi? Aut enim placet illis quod fecerunt & in ſuo ſcelere perſeverant; aut ſi diſplicet & recedunt, ſciunt quo revertantur. Nam cum ſtatutum ſit omnibus nobis, & æquum ſit pariter ac juſtum, ut uniuſcujuſque cauſa illic audiatur, ubi eſt Crimen admiſſum, & portio Gregis ſingulis paſtoribus ſit adſcripta, quam regat Unuſquiſque & Gubernet, rationem ſui actus Domino redditurus, oportet utique eos quibus præſumus, non circumcurſare, nec Epiſcoporum concordiam cohærentem ſua ſubdola & fallaci temeritate collidere, ſed agere illic cauſam ſuam ubi & accuſatores habere, & teſtes ſui Criminis poſſint. Ep. 59. p. 36.*

[l] *Cæterum ſcimus quoſdam quod ſemel imbiberint, nolle deponere; nec propoſitum ſuum facile mutare; ſed ſalvo, inter Collegas, pacis ac Concordiæ vinculo, quædam propria, quæ apud ſe ſemel ſint uſurpata retinere. Qua in re, nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut legem damus; cum habeat,*

habeat, in Ecclesiæ administratione, voluntatis suæ arbitrium liberum, unusquisque præpositus, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus. Ep. 72. p. 198.

And how do both St. *Cyprian* and *Firmilian* resent *Stephen*'s Extravagance, in threatning to refuse his Communion to those who had not the same Sentiments with himself about the Baptism of Hereticks? Let any Man read St. *Cyprian*'s Epistle to *Pompeius*, and *Firmilian*'s to St. *Cyprian* [m], and he may have enough to this purpose. Would you have yet more? Then take a most memorable Acknowledgment from the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* of *Rome*. St. *Cyprian* had written to them, while the Bishop's *Chair* was *vacant*, and given them an account of his Resolutions about the *Lapsed*; those who had Sacrificed to the Heathen Idols in time of Persecution. Now, consider how they begin their Answer to him. *Althô*, say they, *a Mind that's without Checks of Conscience, that's supported by the Vigour of Evangelical Discipline, and bears witness to it self, that it has squared its Actions by the Divine Commandments, useth to content it self with God, as its only Judge; and neither seeks other Men's Approbations, nor fears their Accusations; yet they are worthy of doubled Praises, who, while they know their Conscience is subject to God only as its Judge, do yet desire that their Administrations should have their Brethrens Comprobations* [n]. So clearly acknowledging St. *Cyprian*'s (and by consequence, every Bishop's) *Supremacy* within his own *District*; and his *Independency*, or *Non-Subordination*, to any *other* Bishop; that even *Rigaltius* himself, in his Annotations on St. *Cyprian*, thô a *Papist*, confesses it. And no wonder; For,

[m] *Vide Ep.* 74, & 75.

[n] *Quanquam bene sibi conscius animus; & Evangelicæ Disciplinæ vigore subnixus; & verus sibi, in Decretis Cælestibus, testis effectus, soleat, solo Deo judice, esse contentus; nec alterius aut Laudes petere, aut Accusationes pertimescere; Tamen geminata sunt laude Condigni, qui, cum Conscientiam sciant Deo soli debere se judici, actus tamen suos desiderant etiam ab ipsis suis fratribus comprobari, &c. Ep. inter* Cyprianicas 30. *p.* 56.

4. By the Principles of those Times, every Bishop was *Christ's Vicar* within his own *District* [o]; Had a *Primacy* in his own Church [p]; *Managed the Ballance of her Government* [q]; Was, by his being Bishop, *elevated to the sublime Top of the Priesthood* [r]; *Had the Episcopal Authority in its Vigour* [s]; the Pre-

[o] —— *Judex vice Christi cogitatur. Ep.* 59. *p.* 129.

[p] *Cathedram sibi constituere, & primatum assumere, &c. Ep.* 69. *p.* 184.

[q] *Gubernandæ Ecclesiæ Librum tenentes* —— *Ep.* 68. *p.* 177.

[r] *Sacerdotii sublime fastigium. Ep.* 55. *p.* 103.

[s] *Cum pro Episcopatus vigore, & Cathedræ authoritate, haberes potestatem, &c. Ep.* 3. *p.* 5. —— *Si ita res est,* —— *Actum est de Episcopatus vigore. Ep.* 59. *p.* 126.

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latick Power in its Plenitude[t]; *A Sublime and Divine Power of Governing the Church*[u]. And none could be called *Bishop of Bishops*[v]. Every Bishop was *Head* of his own Church[vv]; and she was *built* upon him in her Politick Capacity[x]. He, and he only, was her *visible Judge*[y]; and he did not stand *Subordinate* to any *visible Superiour*. In short, The Constitution of every particular Church, in those Times, was a *well-tempered Monarchy*: The *Bishop* was the *Monarch*, and the *Presbytery* was his *Senate*; all the Christians within his District depended on him for Government and Discipline, and he depended on no Man: So that I may fairly conclude this Point with that famous Testimony of St. *Jerom*'s, in his Epistle to *Evagrius*: *Wherever a Bishop is, whether at* Rome *or* Eugubium, Constantinople *or* Rhegium, Alexandria *or* Tani, *he is of the same Merit, and the same Priesthood. Neither the Power of Riches, nor the Humility of Poverty, maketh a Bishop higher or lower; but they are all Successors of the Apostles*[z]. 'Tis true indeed, St. *Jerom* lived after the *Cyprianic* Age: But, I suppose, our Author will pretend to own his Authority as soon as any Father's in the point of Church-Government. Let me represent to you only *one Principle* more, which prevailed in the Days of St. *Cyprian*: And that is,

[t] *In* Solidum. *Un. Eccl. p.* 108.

[u] — *Altum est de Ecclesiæ gubernandæ sublimi ac Divina potestate.* Cyp. *ad* Cornel. *Ep.* 59. *p.* 126.

[v] *Neque enim quisquam nostrum Episcopum se Episcoporum constituit.* Cyp. *in* Conc. Carth. *p.* 129. *Nam nec* Petrus *quem primum Dominus elegit, & super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam suam, cum secum* Paulus *de Circumcisione post modum Disceptaret, vindicavit sibi aliquid insolenter, aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se* Primatum *tenere* —— *Ep.* 71. *p.* 194, 195.

[vv] *Vide supra.*

[x] *Passim.*

[y] *Vide supra.*

[z] *Ubicunque fuerit Episcopus, sive* Romæ, *sive* Eugubii, *sive* Constantinopoli, *sive* Rhegii, *sive* Alexandriæ, *sive* Tanis, *ejusdem Meriti est, & ejusdem Sacerdotii, potentia divitiarum & Paupertatis humilitas, vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit. Cæterum omnes Apostolorum Successores sunt.* Hieron. *ad* Evagrium.

THIRDLY, That whatever the *High-Priest*, among the Jews, was to the *other Priests* and *Levites*, *&c.* The *Christian Bishop* was the same to the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, *&c.* and the same Honour and Obedience was due to him. This was a Principle which St. *Cyprian* frequently insisted on, and Reasoned from. Thus in his Third Epistle, directed to *Rogatianus*, he tells him, That he had *Divine Law* and *Warrant* for Punishing his Rebellious and Undutiful Deacon. And then cites that Text, *Deut.* 17. 12. *And the man that will do presumptuously,*

ſumptuouſly, and will not hearken unto the Prieſt, or unto the Judge, even that man ſhall die: And all the people ſhall hear and fear, and do no more preſumptuouſly. And confirms it farther, by ſhewing how God puniſhed *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, for Rebelling againſt *Aaron*, *Numb.* 16. 1. And when the *Iſraelites*, weary of *Samuel*'s Government, asked a *King* to *judge* them, *The Lord ſaid to* Samuel, *Hearken unto the voice of the People in all that they ſay unto thee; for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me that I ſhould not reign over them:* 1 *Sam.* 8. 7. Therefore, he gave them *Saul* for a Puniſhment, *&c.* And when St. *Paul* was challenged for reviling God's *High Prieſt*, he excuſed himſelf, ſaying, *He wiſt not that he was the High Prieſt:* Had he known him to have been ſo, he would not have Treated him ſo, for it is written, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy People:* Act. 23. 4, 5. And, (as he goes further on) *Our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Our God, King, and Judge, to the very hour of his Paſſion paid ſuitable Honour to the Prieſts, tho they neither feared God, nor acknowledged Chriſt: For when he had cleanſed the Leper, he bade him go ſhew himſelf to the Prieſt, and offer his Gift:* Matth. 8. 4. *And at the very inſtant of his Paſſion, when he was beaten, as if he had anſwered irreverently to the High Prieſt, he uttered no Reproachful Thing againſt the Perſon of the Prieſt, but rather defended his own Innocence, ſaying, If I have ſpoken Evil, bear witneſs of the Evil; but if well, why ſmiteſt thou me?* John 18. 22, 23. *All which Things were done humbly and patiently by him, that we might have a Patern of Patience and Humility propoſed to us; for he taught us to give all dutiful Honour to true Prieſts, by behaving ſo towards falſe Prieſts*[a].

[a] *Ep.* 3. *p.* 5.

Thus St. *Cyprian* Reaſon'd, and theſe were his Arguments for obliging all Men, *Clergy* as well as *Laity*, to Honour and Obey their *Biſhops*. To the ſame purpoſe he wrote in his Fourth Epiſtle to *Pomponius*, concerning ſome Virgins and Deacons that lived Scandalouſly. *Let them not think they can be ſaved*, ſays he, *if they will not obey the Biſhops, ſeeing God ſays in Deuteronomy*, and then he cites *Deut.* 17. 12[b]. He inſiſts on the ſame Arguments in his 59th Epiſtle directed to *Cornelius*, when he is giving him an account of the Rebellion, and Schiſmatical Practices of *Fortunatus* and *Feliciſſimus*, the *one* a Presbyter, and the *other* a Deacon[c]. He inſiſts on them

[b] *Ep.* 4. *p.* 9.

[c] *Ep.* 59. *p.* 128.

over again, in his 66th Epistle to *Florentius Pupianus*[d]. He insists largely on the Argument drawn from the Punishment inflicted on *Corah* and his Complices for Rebelling against *Aaron*; and makes it the same very Sin in Schismaticks, who separate from their lawful Bishop, in his 69th Epistle directed to *Magnus*[e]; and in his 73d Epistle, directed to *Jubaianus*[f]. And *Firmilian* also, St. *Cyprian*'s Contemporary, insists on the same Argument[g]. Indeed, the Names, *Priest*, *Priesthood*, *Altar*, *Sacrifice*, &c. so much used in those Times, are a pregnant Argument of the Notions Christians had then, of the *Christian Hierarchy*'s being Copied from the *Jewish*. Neither was it a Notion newly started up in St. *Cyprian*'s time, for we find it in expres Terms in that notable Epistle written to the *Corinthians* by St. *Clement* Bishop of *Rome*, who was not only Contemporary with the Apostles, but is by Name mentioned by St. *Paul*, as one of his Fellow-Labourers, *whose Names are in the Book of Life*, Philip. 4. 3. For he perswading those *Corinthians* to lay aside all Animosities and Schismatical Dispositions, and to pursue and maintain Unity and Peace, above all things; proposes to them as a proper Expedient for this, that every Man should keep his Order and Station; and then enumerates the several Subordinations under the *Old Testament*, which sufficiently proves, That the Hierarchy was still preserved in the *New*. His Method of Reasoning, and the Design he had in hand to compose the Schisms that arose amongst the *Corinthians*, make this evident beyond all Contradiction, That a Bishop in the *Christian* Church was no less than the High Priest among the *Jews*, else he had not argued from the *Precedents* of the Temple to perswade them to Unity in the Church. *The High Priest* (saith he) *has his proper Office, and the Priests have their proper Place or Station; and the Levites are tied to their proper Ministeries; and the Layman is bound to his Laick Performances*[h].

[d] *Ep.66. p.166.*
[e] *Ep.69. p.183.*
[f] *Ep.73. p.201.*
[g] *Ep.75. p.225.*
[h] Τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδόμεναι εἰσὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἴδιαι διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται: ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται. *Clem. Epist. ad Cor. p. miki, 53.*

Having thus demonstrated, that these were three current and received Principles in St. *Cyprian*'s time, *viz.* That a Bishop was the *Principle of Unity* to his Church, to all the Chri-

Christians within his *District*; That he was *Supreme* in his *Church*, and had no Earthly Ecclesiastical Superiour; and, That he was the *same* amongst *Christians*, which the *High Priest* was amongst the *Jews*: Let me try a little, if our Author's Definition of a Bishop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, can consist with them. I am afraid, it can consist with none of them singly, much less with all three together.

1. Not with the first; for, if a *Bishop*, then, was the *Principle of Unity* to a Church, in which there were *many Presbyters*; as *Cyprian*, *e. g.* was to the Church of *Carthage*, and *Cornelius* to the Church of *Rome*, and *Fabius* to the Church of *Antioch*, and *Dionysius* to the Church of *Alexandria*, *&c.* If thus it was, I say, then, to be sure, a *Bishop* was another thing than a meer *single Presbyter* of a *single Parish* in the *Presbyterian* sense: For, if a *single Presbyter* could have been the *Principle of Unity* to a Church in which there were, *e. g.* 46 *single Presbyters*, he must have been it as a *single Presbyter*, or as something else: Not as a *single Presbyter*, for then there should have been as many *Principles of Unity* in a Church, as there were *single Presbyters*; for Instance, There should have been 46 *Principles of Unity* in the Church of *Rome*: Which, besides that 'tis plainly Contradictory to the Notion of *One Bishop*, at *once*, in a *Church*; what is it else, than to make a Church such a Monster as may have 46 *Heads*? Than by so multiplying the *Principles of Unity*, to leave no *Unity* at all? Than, in stead of *One Principle of Unity* to an *Organized Body*, to set up 46 *Principles of Division*? Indeed, what is it else than the very Extract of Nonsense, and Cream of Contradiction? A *single Presbyter* then, if he could have been the *Principle of Unity* to such a Church, must have been it, as *something else* than a *meer single Presbyter*. But what could that *Something else* have been? A *Presbyterian Moderator*? Not so neither; for by what Propriety of Speech can a *Moderator* of a *Presbytery*, as such, be called the *Principle of Unity* to a Church? How can he be called the *Principle of Unity* to a Church, who, as such, is neither *Pastor*, *Head*, nor *Governour* of a Church? Who, as such, has no direct, immediate, or formal *Relation* to a Church? Who, as such, is only the *Chair-man*, the *Master-Speaker*, not of the *Church*, but of the *Presbytery*? Nay, who may be such, and yet no Christian? For however inexpe-

dient or indecent it may be, that an *Heathen* ſhould, on occaſion, be the *Moderator*, *i. e.* the Maſter-Speaker of a *Presbytery*; yet it implies no Repugnancy to any Principle of Chriſtianity. But however this is, 'tis certain, that, according to the Presbyterian Principles, (not the *Moderator*, but) the *Presbytery* is the *Principle of Unity* to the *Church*, or rather *Churches*, within the Bounds of that *Presbytery*. And, to do our Author Juſtice, he ſeems to have been ſenſible of this, as I obſerved already: And therefore, he ſaid not, *If he* (the Apologiſt) *can prove, that we ſeparate from our Paſtors, or from the Moderator of the Presbytery*; but, *from our Paſtors*, or *from the Presbytery with their Moderator*. Neither,

2. Can our Author's Definition conſiſt with the ſecond Principle, *viz.* That every Biſhop was *Supreme* in his Church, *Independent*, and *not Subordinate*, to any Eccleſiaſtical Superiour on Earth. To have ſuch a Supremacy, ſuch an Independency, ſuch an Unaccountableneſs, is notoriouſly inconſiſtent with the *Idea* of either a *ſingle Presbyter*, or a *Presbyterian Moderator*. How can it be conſiſtent with the *Idea* of a *ſingle Presbyter* acting in *Parity* with his Brethren Presbyters, that of 46, for Example, *One* ſhould have a *Primacy*, a *Supremacy*, a *Plenitude* of *Power*, the *Sublime* and *Divine Power of Governing the Church*, an *Unaccountable and Eminent Power*, as St. *Jerom* himſelf calls it[i]. And all the reſt ſhould be *Accountable*, and *Subordinate* to him? What is this but reconciling Contradictions? Beſides, the *Independency* of *ſingle Presbyters* is notoriouſly inconſiſtent with the *Presbyterian* Scheme. 'Tis *Independency*, not *Presbytery*. And as for the *Presbyterian Moderator*, In what ſenſe can he be called *Supreme*, or *Independent*, or *Unaccountable*? In what ſenſe can he be ſaid to be *raiſed to the Sublime Top of the Prieſthood*? Or to have an *Exors Poteſtas*, an Unaccountable Power? Or to be *Accountable* to *God only*? Or to have the *Sublime* and *Divine Power* of *Governing the Church*? Is he, as ſuch, raiſed to the *Sublime Top of the Prieſthood*, who, as ſuch, may be *no Prieſt* at all? For why may not a *Ruling Elder* be a *Moderator*? How can he be ſaid to have an *Unaccountable Power*, who can *be Voted out* of his *Chair* with the ſame Breath with which he was Voted *into* it? How can he be ſaid to be *Accountable to God only*, who is *Accountable* to the *Presbytery*? How can he be ſaid to have the *Sublime*

and

[i] *Exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens poteſtas.*

and *Divine Power* of *Governing the Church*, who, as such, is *no Church Governour*? Has he a *Supreme Power* in a *Society*, who, as such, has no imaginable *Juriſdiction* over any one *Member* of that *Society*?

3. But what ſhall I ſay to the Conſiſtency of our Author's Definition with the third Principle I named? Even no more than that I have proved it to have been one of St. *Cyprian*'s, and one that was generally received in his time; and that I can refer it to our Author himſelf to Determine, Whether the *High Prieſt* of the *Jews* bore no higher Character than that of a *ſingle Presbyter*, or a *Presbyterian Moderator*? And ſo I proceed to another Head of Arguments, which ſhall be,

FOURTHLY, To give you, in a more particular *Detail*, ſome of the Branches of the Epiſcopal Prerogative in St. *Cyprian*'s time. And I think I ſhall do enough for my purpoſe, if I ſhall prove theſe three Things:

I. That there were ſeveral conſiderable *Acts* of *Power* relating to the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, which belonged *ſolely* to the Biſhop's ſeveral *Powers* lodged in his Perſon, which he could manage by *himſelf*, and without the Concurrence of any *other* Church-Governour.

II. That in every Thing relating to the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, he had a *Negative* over all the other Church-Governours within his Diſtrict. And,

III. That all the other *Clergy-men* within his Diſtrict, *Presbyters* as well as others, were *ſubject* to his Authority, and *obnoxious* to his Diſcipline and Juriſdiction.

I. I ſay, there were ſeveral conſiderable *Acts* of *Power* relating to the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, which belonged *ſolely* to the Biſhop; ſeveral *Powers* lodged in his Perſon, which he could manage by *himſelf*, and without the Concurrence of *any other* Church-Governour. Take theſe for a Sample. And,

Firſt,

First, He had the *ſole Power* of *Confirmation*; of impoſing Hands on Chriſtians, for the Reception of the Holy-Ghoſt, after Baptiſm. For this, we have St. *Cyprian*'s moſt expreſs Teſtimony in his Epiſtle to *Jubaianus*, where he tells, It was the Cuſtom *to offer ſuch as were Baptized to the Biſhops, that, by their Prayers, and the laying on of their Hands, they might receive the Holy-Ghoſt, and be Conſummated by the Sign of our Lord, i. e.* by the *Sign* of the *Croß*, as I take it: And he expreſly founds this Practice on the Patern of St. *Peter* and St. *John*, mentiond *Acts* 8. 14. *&c.*[k] *Firmilian* is as expreſs in his Epiſtle to *Cyprian*, ſaying in plain Language, That *the Biſhops, who Govern the Church, poſſeſs the Power of Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Ordination*[l]. 'Tis true, he calls them *Majores Natu, Elders:* But that he meant *Biſhops*, as diſtinguiſhed from *Presbyters*, cannot be called into Queſtion by any Man, who reads the whole Epiſtle, and conſiders his Stile all along; and withal, conſiders what a peculiar Intereſt, by the Principles of theſe Times, the Biſhop had in theſe three Acts he names. But whatever groundleſs Altercations there may be about his Teſtimony, as there can be none about St. *Cprian*'s, ſo neither can there be any ſhadow of Pretext for any about *Cornelius*'s, who, in his Epiſtle to *Fabius*, (ſo often mentioned before,) makes it an Argument of *Novatianus* his Incapacity of being a Biſhop; that thô he was *Baptized*, yet *he was not Confirmed by the Biſhop*[m].

[k] —— *Et ideirco quia legitimum & Eccleſiaſticum Baptiſma conſecuti fuerant* (quos *Philippus* tinxerat) *Baptizari eos ultra non oportebat; ſed tantummodo quod deerat id a* Petro *&* Joanne *factum eſt; ut Oratione pro iis habita, & manu impoſita, invocaretur & infundaretur ſuper eos Spiritus Sanctus: Quod nunc quoque apud nos Geritur, ut qui in Eccleſia Baptizantur, Præpoſitis Eccleſiæ offerantur, & per noſtram Orationem ac manus impoſitionem, Spiritum Sanctum conſequantur, & ſignaculo Dominico conſummentur. Ep.* 73. *p.* 202.

[l] *Omnis poteſtas & Gratia in Eccleſia eſt, ubi Præſident* Majores Natu, *qui & Baptizandi & Manum imponendi & Ordinandi poſſident poteſtatem. Ep.* 75. *p.* 221.

[m] Ὁυ μὰν ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὅτι λοιπὸν ἤτυχε θεῖν χεὶ μετελαμβάνειν μετὰ τὴν ἐυκλησίας ηγόνα, ὧν τι σφεῖς ἐδήνατ ἀπὸ τῦ Ἐπισκόπυ, *&c. Apud* Euſeb. *H. E. lib.* 6. *cap.* 43.

Secondly, He had the *ſole Power* of *Ordination*, and that of whatſoever Clergy-men within his Diſtrict. *Ordinations* could not be performed without him; but he could perform them Regularly, without the Concurrence of any other Church-Officer. This has been ſo frequently and ſo fully proved by Learned Men, that I need not inſiſt much on it. Forbearing therefore to adduce the Teſtimonies of ſuch as lived after St. *Cy-*

St. *Cyprian*'s time, ſuch as *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*, *Chryſoſtom*, *&c.* I ſhall confine my ſelf to St. *Cyprian*, and his Contemporaries. To begin with St. *Cyprian*.

'Tis true, ſo humble and condeſcending he was, That when he was made Biſhop, he reſolved with himſelf to do nothing by himſelf, concerning the Publick Affairs of the Church, without conſulting not only his Clergy, but his People [n]. I call this his own free and voluntary Condeſcention: It was a thing he was not bound to do by any Divine Preſcript, or any Apoſtolical Tradition, or any Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. His very Words import ſo much, which you may ſee on the Margin. And yet, for all that, we find him not only in extraordinary Junctures, *Ordaining* without asking the Conſent of his Clergy or People; but ſtill inſiſting on it as the *Right* of all Biſhops, and particularly his own, to Promote and *Ordain* Clergy-men, of whatſoever Rank, by *himſelf*, and without any Concurrence. Thus,

In his 38th Epiſtle, having *Ordained Aurelius* a *Lector*, he acquaints his Presbyters and Deacons with it, from the Place of his Retirement: Now conſider how he begins his Letter. *In all Clerical Ordinations, moſt dear Brethren*, ſays he, *I uſed to Conſult you beforehand, and to examine the Manners and Merits of every one with common Advice* [o]. And then he proceeds to tell them, How, that notwithſtanding that was his *ordinary* Method, a *Rule* he had obſerved for the *moſt part*; yet, for good Reaſons he had not obſerved it in that Inſtance. In which Teſtimony, we have theſe Things evident: 1. That his Power was the ſame, as to all *Ordinations*, whether of Presbyters or others: For he ſpeaks of them all indefinitely; *In Clericis Ordinationibus*. 2. That he uſed only to ask the Counſel and Advice of his Clergy, about the *Manners* and *Merits* of the Perſon he was to *Ordain*, but not their *Concurrence* in the *Act* of *Ordination*; not one word of that: On the contrary, That they uſed *not* to *Concurr*, fairly imported in the very Inſtance of *Aurelius*. 3. That it was intirely of his own *Eaſineſs* and *Condeſcenſion*, that he Conſulted them in the Matter: He USED to *do* it, but needed not have *done it*: He *did it not* in that very ſame Caſe. Which is a demonſtration of the Truth of what I ſaid before, *viz.* That his Reſolution, which he had made when he entred to his Biſhop-

[n] —— *Solus reſcribere nihil potui, quando a primordio Epiſcopatus mei*, STATUERIM *nihil ſine conſilio veſtro, & ſine conſenſu plebis, mea privatim ſententia gerere.* Ep. 14. p. 33.

[o] *In Ordinationibus Clericis* SOLEMUS *vos ante conſulere, & mores ac merita ſingulorum Communi Conſilio ponderare.* Ep. 38 p. 74.

Bishoprick, was from his own *Choice*, and absolutely *Free* and *Voluntary*.

We have another remarkable Testimony to the same purpose in his 41st Epistle, where he tells, that, Because of his Absence from *Carthage*, he had given a *Deputation* to *Caldonius* and *Herculanus*, two Bishops; and to *Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*, two of his Presbyters, *to examine the Ages, Qualifications, and Merits, of some in* Carthage, *that he, whose Province it was to promote Men to Ecclesiastical Offices, might be well informed about them, and Promote none but such as were Meek, Humble, and Worthy* [p]. This, I say, is a most remarkable Testimony for our present Purpose; for he not only speaks *indefinitely* of all *Ranks* or *Orders*, without making *Exceptions*; but he speaks of himself in the Singular Number, as having the *Power* of Promoting them; and he founds that *Power*, and appropriates it to himself, upon his having the Care of the Church and her Government committed to him.

[p] —— *Cumque ego vos pro me* Vicarios *miserim, — Ut ætates eorum, & Conditiones, & Merita discerneretis; ut jam* EGO CUI CURA INCUMBIT, *omnes optime nossem, & dignos atque humiles & mites, ad Ecclesiasticæ Administrationis officia promoverem, Ep. 41. p. 79.*

We have a third Testimony as pregnant as any of the former, in his 72d Epistle written to *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*. For, representing to him what the Resolution of the *African Bishops* were concerning such *Presbyters* and *Deacons* as should return from a *State* of *Schism*, to the *Communion* of the *Church*, he discourses thus. *By common Consent and Authority, Dear Brother, we tell you further, That if any* Presbyters *or* Deacons, *who have either been Ordained before in the Catholick Church, and have afterwards turned Perfidious and Rebellious against the Church; or, have been Promoted by a* Profane Ordination, *in a State of* Schism, *by* FALSE BISHOPS *and Anti-Christs, against our Lord's Institution —— that such, if they shall return, shall only be admitted to Lay-Communion,* &c.[q] By which Testimony, you may clearly see, 1. That all *Ordinations* of *Presbyters*, as well as *Deacons*, were performed by *Bishops*; by

[q] *Addimus plane & conjungimus, frater carissime, consensu & Auctoritate communi, ut etiam si qui Presbyteri aut Diaconi, qui vel in Ecclesia Catholica prius Ordinati fuerint, & postmodum perfidi & Rebelles contra Ecclesiam steterint; vel apud Hereticos a* PSEUDO-EPISCOPIS *& Anti-Christis contra Christi dispositionem, profana Ordinatione promoti sint, & contra Altare unum atque Divinum, Sacrificia foris falsa ac Sacrilega offerre conati sint; eos quoque hac Conditione suscipi, cum revertuntur, ut Communicent Laici, &c. Ep. 72. p. 197.*

True

True Bishops in the *Catholick Church*; and by *False Bishops* in a *State* of *Schism*. 2. That to *Ordain* Presbyters and Deacons, was so much, and so acknowledged by, the Bishop's *Work*, and peculiar to him, that, herein, even *Schismaticks* themselves observed the *Common Rule*. They found their *Ordinations* were indispensibly to be performed by *Bishops*, that they might not be *Obnoxious* to the *Charge* of *Invalidity*.

So clear and full is St. *Cyprian* on this Head: And not only he, but *Firmilian*, as I have cited him already. Nay, further yet,

Our Martyr's Practice was always suitable and correspondent to these Principles. He not only *Ordained Aurelius* a *Lector*, as I have shewed, without either the Consent or Concurrence of his Clergy; but also *Saturus* a *Lector*, and *Optatus* a *Sub-Deacon*, Epist. 29. and *Celerinus* a *Lector*, Ep. 39. In which we have also a most considerable Evidence of the Bishops *Power* in *Ordinations*, in St. *Cyprian*'s Discourse concerning *Aurelius* and *Celerinus*: For there he tells his Presbyters, Deacons, and all his People, and tell them in an Authoritative *Stile*, in the *Stile*, by which *Superiours* used to signifie their *Will* and *Pleasure* to their *Subjects*, with a *Be it known to you*; He tells them, I say, That tho he had only *Ordained* these two, *Lectors*, for the time, because they were but *young*; yet he had designed them for the *Presbyterate*, *and to sit with him, as soon as their Years would allow of it* [r].

[r] *Caterum Presbyterii honorem & sacerdotalis throni fuit.* — *Sessuris nobiscum, provectis annis suis.* Ep. 39. p. 78.

And what can be more pat to this purpose, than that uncontrolable Account we have of *Novatianus* his Promotion to the *Presbyterate*, which we have in that so often mentioned Epistle written by *Cornelius* to *Fabius* of *Antioch*? There he tells, how *Novatianus* was Ordained a *Presbyter*, meerly by the *Favour* of the *then* Bishop of *Rome*. That all the Clergy, and many of the People, opposed it, as being Unlawful, considering that he had been Baptized while on the Bed of Sickness: And that, after much work, the Bishop prevailed, and *Ordained* him, promising that he would not make a Precedent of it. I refer you to the Testimony which I have transcribed faithfully on the Margin. Consider it, and tell me if any

thing can be more clear, than that the Bishop, *then*, had the *sole Power* of *Ordination*[s].

[s] Καταξιώθη τῆς Πρεσβυτερείου καὶ χώρου τῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ θεὸν καὶ ἁγίους αὐτῷ χειρὸς εἰς Πρεσβυτερίου κλῆρον. Ὃς διακωλυόμενος ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαικῶν πολλῶν. Ἐπεὶ μὴ ἄξιον ἦν τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κλίνῃ διὰ νόσον ἀνεχθέντα, ὅσπερ καὶ ἔστο, εἰς κλῆρον τινὰ γενέσθαι ἢ ἀξιοῦσθαι συγχωρηθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονῆσαι. *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 43.*

Neither do we read in all St. *Cyprian*'s Works, or in any Monuments of those Times, of any Concurrence of *Presbyters* with *Bishops*, in any *Ordinations*, and far less, that ever *Presbyters Ordain'd* without a *Bishop*. 'Tis true, we read in St. *Cyprian*'s 52d *Epistle*, that *Novatus* made *Felicissimus* a *Deacon*: And I read, that several Learned Men understand it so, as if he had *Ordained* him[t]. And *Blondel* particularly, because *Novatus* was nothing but a *Presbyter*, concludes, that this was a notable Instance of the *Power* of *Presbyters* in *Ordinations*. But when one reads the whole Passage, as St. *Cyprian* hath it, and ponders all Things duly, he cannot but think it strange, that ever that Fancy should have been entertained: For all that St. *Cyprian* says, amounts to no more than this, That *Novatus* turn'd a *Schismatick* in the time of *Persecution*, and thereby became *another Persecution to the Church*; and that having thus given himself up to the Spirit of *Schism*, he, *by his Faction and Ambition, got* Felicissimus *made a Deacon, without either* St. Cyprian's *Knowledge or Allowance*[u]. St. *Cyprian*'s Words, I say, do not import, that *Novatus* Ordain'd *Felicissimus*: They import no more, than that *Novatus* his *Ambition* and *Faction* prevailed to get *Felicissimus* Ordain'd a *Deacon*, tho himself did not *Ordain* him. ('Tis probable he was *Ordained* by some Neighbouring *Bishop*, St. *Cyprian* being then in his *Secession*.) And 'tis as evident as any thing can be made, from what immediately follows, that St. *Cyprian* designed them for no more. For he goes on, and tells, in that same Breath, *That* Novatus *having done so and so at* Carthage, *went next to* Rome, *and attempted just the like things there; only with this difference, That as* Rome, *by its Greatness, had the Precedency of* Carthage, *so he attempted greater Wickedness at* Rome *than at* Carthage: For *he* (says *Cyprian*)

[t] *Vide* Annal. Cyp. *ad Ann.* 250. *Sect.* 21.

[u] *Idem est* Novatus *qui quosdam istic ex fratribus ab Episcopo Segregavit, qui in ipsa persecutione ad everterendas fratrum mentes, alia quædam persecutio nostris fuit. Ipse est qui* Felicissimum *satellitem suum, Diaconum, nec permittente me, nec sciente, sua factione & ambitione constituit. Ep. 52. p. 97.*

who had made a Deacon at Carthage *against the Church, made a Bishop at* Rome, meaning *Novatianus* [v]. Now 'tis certain that not *Novatus*, but *Three Bishops*, Ordained *Novatianus*; and, by consequence, that St. *Cyprian* never meant that *Novatus* Ordain'd *Felicissimus*. This is irrefragable. But then, suppose the worst; Suppose *Novatus* had really Ordained *Felicissimus*, what stress is to be laid on the Example of a *Schismatick*? Especially when what he *did* was *done Schismatically*? *Antonianus* asked of St. *Cyprian*, what was *Novatianus* his Heresie? And *Cyprian* answered, *It was no matter what he taught, seeing he be taught in Schism* [vv]: And may we not say with the same Reason, That it matters not what *Novatus* did, seeing what he *did* was *done* in *Schism*? One Thing indeed we learn from this Matter, and that is another Argument of the Bishop's peculiar Interest in the matter of *Ordination*; For St. *Cyprian* most plainly imputes it to *Schism*, that, without his Allowance, *Novatus* should have presumed to have got *Felicissimus Ordained* a *Deacon*.

[v] *Et cum sua tempestate Romam quoque Navigans ad evertendam Ecclesiam; similia illic & paria molitus est, a Clero portionem Plebis avellens, Fraternitatis bene sibi cohærentis & se invicem diligentis Concordiam scindens, plane, quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat* Carthaginem Roma *præcedere, illic majora & graviora commisit: Qui istic adversus Ecclesiam, Diaconum fecerat, illic Episcopum fecit, &c. Ep. 52. p. 97.*

[vv] *Quod vero ad* Novatiani *personam pertinet: F. C. de quo desideraſti tibi scribi, quam hæresin introduxisset, scias nos primo in loco, nec curiosos esse debere quid ille doceat, cum foris doceat. Ep. 55. p. 112.*

One Word more: The Bishops being thus possessed of the *sole Power* of *Ordination* in St. *Cyprian*'s time, and his Practising suitably, was exactly agreeable to the *Second* of the *Canons* commonly called *of the Apostles*; which is, *Let a Presbyter be Ordained by One Bishop, as likewise a Deacon and the rest of the Clergy* [x]. A *Canon*, without doubt, universally received then, as *Beveregius* has fully proved; and a *Canon* high'y agreeable with the then current Principles, which I have insisted on already, *viz.* That a Bishop was the *Principle of Unity*, and *Supreme Ecclesiastical Magistrate* within his *District*. For what can be more suitable to, or rather, more necessary by all the *Fundamental Rules* of *Society*, than that it should belong to the *Supreme Power*, wherever it is lodged, to *promote* and *give Commissions* to all *Inferiour Officers*? 'Tis one of the *Rights* of *Majesty*, and *one* as *intrinsick* and *unalienable*, or incommunicable, as *any*. 'Tis true, a good many Years af-

[x] Πρεσβύτερον ἑνὸς ἐπισκόπου χειροτονεῖσθαι, καὶ διάκονον, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί.

ter St. *Cyprian*'s time, it was appointed by the *Canons*, That *Presbyters* should *concurr* with the Bishop in the *Ordination* of *Presbyters*: But then, I say, it was many Years after St. *Cyprian*'s time; and it was for new emergent Reasons; That *Ordinations* might be performed more deliberately, or with the greater Solemnity, or so; but 'tis evident, that nothing of the substantial *Validity* of the *Orders* were to depend upon it. And so much, at present, for the Bishop's *Power* of *Ordination*. But this is not all. For,

Thirdly, He had *full Power*, without asking the Consent or Concurrence of either Clergy or People, to *settle* Presbyters within his *District*. Of this, we have a most remarkable Instance of St. *Cyprian*'s planting *Numidicus* a Presbyter of the City of *Carthage*: Our Martyr wrote to his Presbyters, Deacons, and People, to receive him as such, (probably he had been Ordained before,) and there was no more of it: It was instantly done[y]. As we learn from the very next Epistle[z], where we find the same *Numidicus*, as a *Presbyter* of *Carthage*, receiving a *Commission* for a *Deputation* to oversee such and such Things in St. *Cyprian*'s absence. So negligent, shall I say? Or so ignorant was St. *Cyprian* of *Christ*'s *Testament*, at least of his Leaving, in it, to his People, by way of *Legacy*, a *Right*, a *Grant*, a *Priviledge*, of *Chooſing their own Ministers!* What a Stranger has he been to all the Analogies and Principles of Presbyterian Government! But I proceed.

[y] Ep. 40.
[z] Ep. 41, & 43.

Fourthly, In St. *Cyprian*'s time, the Bishop had the *disposal* of all the *Revenues* of the *Church*. All the Churches *Incomes*, then, were *Oblations*, and *Charitable Contributions*. The *Civil* Magistrate was *Heathen*, and treated her commonly with Persecutions, never with Encouragements. Now, the Bishop, I say, had the full Power of *disposing* of these Contributions and Oblations.

In the first place, he had his own *Quantitas Propria*, His proper Portion; and twas, no doubt, a considerable One. 'Tis commonly reckoned to have been the *Third*. The other *Two* belonged to the *Clergy* and the *Poor*; but so, as to be *dispensed* by the Bishop.

That

That he had his *own Portion*, and that a Liberal One, is evident from his 7th Epiſtle; For there he tells how, before he retired, he gave the *Truſt* of it to *Rogatianus*, one of his Presbyters, ordering that if there were any neceſſitous Strangers at *Carthage*, they ſhould have Maintenance out of it [a]. And it is obſervable, that when St. *Cyprian* gives an account of *Fortunatianus*, who had been Biſhop of *Aſſuræ*, but had forfeited by Sacrificing in time of Perſecution, and yet was earneſt for all that to retain his Biſhoprick; he ſays expreſly, that *it was upon the account of the Perquiſites, and not from any Love to Religion* [b]. And it is not to be doubted, that the ſame Reaſon moved *Baſilides* to be ſo much concerned for the recovery of his Biſhoprick, after he had forfeited it alſo [c]. Indeed, the Biſhop's *proper Portion* was ſetled on him by the 40th of the *Apoſtolic Canons*.

[a] *Sed & Pirrogrinio, ſi qui indigentes fuerint, ſuggeratis, de* Quantitate mea propria, *quam apud* Rogatianum *Compreſbyterum noſtrum dimiſi.* *Ep.* 7. *p.* 14.

[b] *Stipes & Oblationes & Lucro deſiderant, quibus prius inſatiabiles incubabant, & cænis atque epulis etiamnunc inhiant, quarum crapulam nuper ſuperſtite indies Cruditate ruſtabant; nunc manifeſtiſſime Comprehenſes, nec ante ſe Religioni, ſed ventri potius, & quæſtui, profanæ Cupiditate ſerviſſe.* *Ep.* 65. *p.* 163.

[c] *Vide Ep.* 67. *p.* 173.

And that he had the *diſpoſal* of the reſt, particularly that which belonged to the *Clergy*, is as plain. For, in his 41ſt *Epiſtle*, he makes it an aggravation of *Feliciſſimus*'s Guilt, that, *contrary to the Duty which he owed to his Biſhop, he ſhould have made ſuch a Clutter, about the Diviſion of the Contributions.* And on the other hand he praiſes the Dutifulneſs of others, who would not follow *Feliciſſimus* his bad Example, but continued in the Unity of the Church, and *were ſatisfied to take their Shares, as the Biſhop ſhould pleaſe to diſpenſe them* [d]. And it is a moſt remarkable Inſtance of this his *Power*, which we have in the aforementioned Caſe of *Aurelius* and *Celerinus*; for thô he promoted them only to the *Degree* of *Lectors*, yet he *Entituled* them to the *Maintenance* of *Preſbyters* [e]. And as for that part that belonged to the *Poor*, his *Power* in the *Diſtribution* of it is ſo evident from his *Fifth* and *Forty firſt Epiſtles*, that I need not inſiſt upon it. Indeed, this *Power* was expreſly aſſerted to them by the *Thirty eighth* and *Forty firſt* of

[d] *Cumque poſſ hæc omnia, nec Loci mei honore motus — In quo quidem gratulor pluriimos Fratres ab hac audacia receſſiſſe, & vobis acquieſcere maluiſſe, ut cum Eccleſia matre remanerent, & ſtipendia ejus,* EPISCOPO DISPENSANTE *perciperent.* *Ep.* 41. *p.* 80.

[e] *Cæterum Preſbyterii honorem deſignaſſe me illis jam ſciatis ut & ſportulis iiſdem cum Preſbyteris honorentur, & diviſiones menſuruas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur.* *Ep.* 38. *p.* 78.

the

the *Apostolick Canons* [f]. And we find *Bishops* in *Possession* of it long before St. *Cyprian*'s time; as is evident from *Justin Martyr*'s second Apology, not far from the end. Not now to mention that it seems fairly to be founded on expres Scripture [g]. Indeed,

[f] Πάντων τῶν Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος ἐχέτω τὴν προστασίαν, &c. C. *Ap.* 38.

[g] *Vide Clariss.* Dodwel. *Dissert. Cyp.* 1. *Sect.* 8.

Fifthly, He seems to have had a *Power* of *imposing Charitable Contributions* on all the Christians within his *District*, for the Relief of Distressed Strangers, whether Captives, Prisoners, or condemn'd to the Mines or Galleys, *&c.* Of this Power, we have famous Instances in his 62d and 78th *Epistles*. You may Consult them at your Leasure. And long before St. *Cyprian*'s time, *Soter* Bishop of *Rome*, as the Venerable *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, (cited for it by *Eusebius*,) tells us, Managed this *Power* to excellent purpose, as his Predecessors, from the Apostles times had done before him. Take his own Words, for he was a very ancient Father, having flourished about an Hundred Years before St. *Cyprian*. They are in an Epistle of his to the Church of *Rome*, in which he thus bespeaks them. *This has been your Custom from the beginning*, (*i. e.* ever since the Church of *Rome* was planted,) *to do manifold good Offices to the Brethren, and send Supplies to most Churches in most Cities, for sweetning their Poverty, and refreshing those that are Condemned to the Mines. You*, Romans, *observe the Custom of the* Romans *handed down to you by your Fathers; which Custom, your blessed Bishop* Soter *has not only observed, but improved*, &c. [h] What can be more clear than it is from these Words, That *Soter*, as Bishop of *Rome*, had the *chief* Management of the *Charitable Contributions*, imposing them, and disposing of them for the Relief of the Afflicted Christians of whatsoever Church? And now that I have gone higher than St. *Cyprian*'s time, (thô it was not necessary for my main Argument; and to make use of it, might swell this Letter to too great a Bulk;) Let me mention another Power, which *Tertullian* (who lived before St. *Cyprian* also) in plain Terms appropriates to the *Bishop*. A *considerable Power*, a Power that is a considerable Argument of the Episcopal Sovereignty. And it is,

[h] *Euseb. H. E. l.* 4. *c.* 23.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, The *Power* of *Indicting Solemn Fasti*, as occasion required, to all the Christians within his District. You have his Words, plain and home, upon the Margin [i].

[i] *Bene autem & quod Epistopi Universæ Plebi jejunia mandare assolent: Non dico de industria stipium Conferendarum, ut vestra captura est, sed interdum ex aliqua solicitudinis Ecclesiasticæ causa.* Tert. *De* Jejun. *cap.* 13.

Seventhly, A Bishop in St. *Cyprian*'s time, (for now I return to it,) as such, had the *sole Power* of *Convocating* his Presbyters and Deacons; all those of his Clergy and People, who either *sat* with him, or *standing* gave their *Suffrages*, as they were *ask'd*, about any thing relating to the Church. All Learned Men (even *Spanhemius* himself, our Author's *diligent Searcher into Antiquity*,) confesses this. Indeed, this was a Point on which the *Unity* of the *Church* did so much depend, that it could not but be a necessary Branch of his *Prerogative*, who was the *Principle of Unity* to, and was intrusted with, the *Supreme* Government of the Church. And, agreeably, we find *Cornelius* accounting about it in an Epistle to *Cyprian*. For there he tells, how the *Presbyters* and *Confessors*, who had sided with *Novatianus*, turning sensible of their Error, came (not streight to himself, for it seems they had not the confidence to do that, or rather, they would not have been allowed that freedom so suddenly; but) to his Presbyters, acknowledging their Offences, and humbly supplicating that they might be Pardoned, and their Escapes forgotten: How, when all this was narrated to him, *He was pleased to Convocate the Presbytery*: How *Maximus*, *Urbanus*, *Sidonius*, and *Macarius*, being allowed to appear, made their Acknowledgments and humble Addresses; and then, how after they were *received* in the *Presbytery*, the whole matter was *Communicated* to the *People*; and they again renewed their Acknowledgments before the People, confessing as I shewed before, *viz. That they were convinced, that* Cornelius *was chosen by the Omnipotent God, and our Lord Jesus Christ to be Bishop of the most Holy Catholick Church; and that they were not ignorant, that, as there was but One God, One Christ our Saviour, and One Holy-Ghost; so there ought to be only One Bishop in a Catholick Church.*

Church[k]. Here, I say, was a Noble Instance of a Bishop's *Power* in *Convocating* his Presbyters at pleasure, and managing the Affairs of the Church like a *Chief* Governour. The whole Epistle is well worth perusing. But I shall only desire you to take notice of one Thing by the way, it is, That *Cornelius* sought not the *People's* Consent for their Reception; no, he first received them again into the Communion of the Church, and then acquainted the *People* with it. I observe this, because it is another Demonstration, That what St. *Cyprian* determined from the beginning of his *Episcopacy*, was meerly the effect of his own Choice, and Arbitrary Condescension, *viz.* To do nothing without his Peoples Consent: This, I say, was not a Thing he was *bound* to do by the *Rules* of his *Episcopacy*, for then *Cornelius* had been as much *bound* as he.

[k] —— *Omni igitur actu ad* ME *perlato, placuit contra hi Presbyterium* —— *Hi ista Gestis in Presbyterium venerunt* —— *Summis precibus desiderantes ut ea quæ ante fuerant Gesta in Oblivionem cederent* —— *Quod erat consequens, omnis hic actus populo fuerat insinuandus, ut & ipsos viderent, in Ecclesia constitutos* —— *Magnus fraternitatis concursus factus est.* —— *Una erat vox omnium gratias Deo agentium* —— *Et ut ipsorum propria verba designem, nos inquiunt* Cornelium *Episcopum sanctissimæ Ecclesiæ, &c. Ep.* 49. *p.* 92, 93.

After these Persons were so solemnly Reconciled to the Church, they themselves, by a Letter, gave an Account of it to St. *Cyprian*; an Account, I say, which might bring more Light to the whole Matter, if it needed any. *We are certain*, say they, *most dear Brother, that you will rejoyce with us, when you know, that all Mistakes are forgotten, and we are Reconciled to* Cornelius OUR BISHOP, *and to all the Clergy; to the Great Contentment and Good Liking of the whole Church*[l].

[l] *Certi sumus, Frater carissime, te quoque nobiscum pari voto congaudere, nos habito Consilio, utilitatibus Ecclesiæ & paci magis Consulentes, omnibus rebus prætermissis, & judicio Dei reservatis, cum* Cornelio EPISCOPO NOSTRO *pariter & cum Universo clero pacem fecisse cum Gaudio etiam Universæ Ecclesiæ, prona etiam omnium Caritate. Ep.* 53. *p.* 98.

But you may say, Did not the *Roman* Presbytery Convene, during the *Vacancy*, after the Death of *Fabianus*? And did not the *Presbytery* of *Carthage* meet frequently, during the time of St. *Cyprian's Secession*? How then can it be said, That the Bishop had the *sole Power* of *Convocating* Presbyters? I answer, 'Tis true, it was so in both Cases: But how? To begin with the latter; There was no Meeting of the Clergy at *Carthage*, during St. *Cyprian's Secession*, without his Authority: And therefore we find, when he *retired*, he left a

Dele-

Delegated Power with his Presbyters and Deacons, or an Allowance, call it as you will, to meet and manage the Affairs of the Church, as occasion should require; but still, so as that they could do nothing of *Moment* without first *Consulting* him; and nothing, but what was of *ordinary Incidence*, is *Regulated* by the *Canons*. This we learn from many of his Epistles: Thus, in his *Fifth Epistle* directed to his Presbyters and Deacons, Because he could not be present himself, he required them *Faithfully and Religiously to discharge both his Office and their own*[m]. Which not only imports, that they had *distinct Offices* from his, but also, in expres Terms, *settles a Delegation* on them. He bespeaks them after the same manner in his 12th *Epistle*[n]. And more Authoritatively yet, *Ep.* 14. where he not only Exhorts, but *Commands them to perform the Office of Vicars to him*[o]. But then, how warmly he resented it, when some of them ventured beyond the Limits of the Allowance he had given them; when they began to encroach on his Prerogatives; when they presumed to meddle in Matters for which they had no *Allowance*, and which were not in the common *Road*, nor *Regulated* by the *Canons*, you shall hear to purpose by and by. And from what I have already said, the other Case, That of the *Presbytery's Meeting* in the time of a *Vacancy*, may be easily cleared also; for tho they might *meet*, yet all they could do, was to *provide* all they could for the *Peace* and *Safety* of the Church, by determining in *Ruled Cases*; just as may be done by *inferiour Magistrates* in all other *Corporations*, or Societies, in the time of an *Inter-Reign*; but they could make no *new Rules:* And there were several other Things they could not do; as I shall also shew fully within a little. In the mean time, having mentioned how St. *Cyprian*, in his Absence, gave a *Delegation* to his *Clergy*, and Constituted them his *Vicars*; let me give you one Example of it, which may well deserve to pass for another Instance of *Acts* that were *peculiar* to himself: And that is,

[m] *Et quoniam mihi interesse nunc non permittit Loci conditio, Peto vos pro fide & Religione vestra, fungamini illic & vestris partibus & meis.* Ep. 5. p. 10.

[n] *Atque utinam Loci & Gradus mei conditio permitteret ut IPSE nunc præsens esse possem —— Sed Officium MEUM vestra diligentia Repræsentet.* Ep. 12. p. 27.

[o] *Hortor & Mando ——* Vice mea *fungamini.* Ep. 14. p. 31.

Eighthly, His *Delegating*, not his Presbyters in common, but *two* of them only, *viz. Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*, with *two* Bishops, *Caldonius* and *Herculanus*, not only to consider the State of the *Poor*, and of the *Clergy* at *Carthage*; but to

pronounce his Sentence of Excommunication againſt *Feliciſſimus* and *Augendus*, and all that ſhould joyn themſelves to that *Faction* and *Conſpiracy*[p]. Which *Delegation* was accordingly accepted of, and the Sentence put in Execution, as we learn by the Return, which theſe four *Delegates*, together with another Biſhop called *Victor*, made to our Holy Martyr[q]. I might have eaſily collected more Inſtances of *Powers* and *Faculties* which were peculiar to a *Biſhop* in St. *Cyprian*'s time, and which could not be pretended to by *Presbyters*: But theſe may be ſufficient for a Sample, eſpecially conſidering that more, perhaps, may be diſcovered in the Proſecution of the next Thing I promiſed to make appear, which was,

[p] *Cum ego vos pro me* Vicarios *miſerim* —— Feliciſſimus —— *accipiat ſententiam quam prior dixit, ut Abſtentum ſe a nobis ſciat*: —— *Sed &* Augendus *ſententiam ferat* —— *Et quiſquis ſe conſpirationi & factioni ejus adjunxerit, ſciat ſe in Eccleſia nobiſcum non eſſe Communicaturum. Ep.* 41. *p.* 79.

[q] Caldonius *cum* Herculano & Victore *Collegis* (*i.e.* Epiſcopis) *item cum* Rogatiano & Numidico *Presbyteris*, Cypriano *ſalutem*. *Abſtinuimus communicatione* Feliciſſimum & Augendum, &c. *Ep.* 42. *p.* 81.

II. That in every thing relating to the Government and Diſcipline of the Church, the Biſhop had a *Negative* over all the other *Church-Governours* within his *Diſtrict*. He had the *Supreme Power* of the *Keys*. No Man could be admitted into the Church; no Man could be thruſt out of the Church; none Excommunicated could be admitted to Penance, nor Abſolved nor Reſtored to the Communion of the Church; no Eccleſiaſtical Law could be made, nor Reſcinded, nor Diſpenſed with, without him. In ſhort, all Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline depends upon the *Sacraments*, and neither *Sacrament* could be Adminiſtrated without his *Allowance*. If this Point, well proved, does not evince, That a *Biſhop*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was a *real Prelate*, and ſtood in a *real Superiority* above all other *Church Officers*, I muſt deſpair of ever proving any thing. And I muſt deſpair of ever proving any thing, if I prove not this Point.

1. To begin with *Baptiſm*, the Sacrament by which Perſons are *admitted* into the Church: That no Man could be *Baptized* without the Biſhop's Conſent, has as much Evidence as can be well required for any *Matter of Fact*. For,

Firſt,

First, St. *Cyprian* could not have expreſſed any thing more fully, or more plainly, than he has done this. To omit that Teſtimony which he gives in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, where he ſays, *Biſhops, by our Lord's Allowance, give the firſt Baptiſm to Believers* [r]. Let us turn over to *Ep.* 73. in which he inſiſts directly to this purpoſe. The Queſtion was, Whether *Baptiſm* performed by *Hereticks*, or *Schiſmaticks*, was *Valid?* St. *Cyprian* affirmed it was not. His *Concluſion* was ſuch, as required ſome other Argument to ſupport it, than his own Authority. It was therefore needful, that he ſhould attempt to *prove* it; and that from received and acknowledged *Principles*. Now conſider his Argument, I ſhall give it in his own Words as near as I can Tranſlate them. *'Tis manifeſt*, ſays he, *where, and by whom, the Remiſſion of Sins can be given, which is given in Baptiſm. For, our Lord gave, firſt, to* Peter *(on whom he built his Church, thereby inſtituting and demonſtrating the Original of Unity,) that* Power, *That whatſoever he ſhould looſe on Earth, ſhould be looſed in Heaven: And then, after his Reſurrection, he gave it to all his Apoſtles, when he ſaid,* As my Father hath ſent me, *&c.* (Joh. 20. v. 21, 22, 23.) *Whence we learn, that none can* Baptize *Authoritatively, and give Remiſſion of Sins, but the* BISHOPS, *and thoſe who are* FOUNDED *in the Evangelical Law, and our Lord's Inſtitution: And, that nothing can be Bound or Looſed out of the Church, ſeeing there's none, there, who has the* Power *of* Binding *or* Looſing. *Further; Deareſt Brother, we want not Divine Warrant for it, when we ſay, That God hath diſpoſed all Things by a certain Law, and a proper Ordinance; and that none can* USURP *any thing againſt the* BISHOPS, *all being ſubject to them: For* Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *attempted to aſſume to themſelves a Priviledge of Sacrificing againſt* Moſes *and* Aaron *the Prieſt, and they were Puniſhed for it, becauſe it was unlawful* [s]. Thus St. *Cyprian* argued; and the force of his Argument lies viſibly in this, That *Baptiſm performed* by *Hereticks* or *Schiſmaticks* cannot be *Valid*, becauſe not *performed* by the *Biſhop*, nor with his *Allowance*. Now whatever comes of his *Inference*, ſure, it had been Ridiculous in him to have ſo *Reaſoned*, if his *Antecedent* had not been a *received Principle*.

[r] *Nos tantum qui Domino permittente primum Baptiſma credentibus damus.* P. 168.

[s] *Manifeſtum eſt, aut ubi & per quos Remiſſa peccatorum dari poteſt, quæ in Baptiſmo ſcilicet datur; nam* Petro *primum Dominus, ſuper quem ædificavit Eccleſiam, & unde unitatis Originem inſtituit & oſtendit, poteſtatem iſtam dedit ut id ſolveretur in Cœlis quod ille ſolviſſet in Terris. Et poſt Reſurrectionem quoque ad*

ad Apoſtolos loquitur, dicens, Sicut miſit me Pater, *&c.* —— *Unde intelligimus non niſi in Eccleſia præpoſitis, & in Evangelica lege ac Dominica Ordinatione fundatis, licere Baptizare, & Remiſſum peccatorum dare: Foris autem nec ligari aliquid poſſe nec ſolvi, ubi non ſit qui aut ligari poſſit, aut ſolvere. Nec hoc F. C. ſine Scripturæ divinæ Auctoritate proponimus, ut dicamus certa lege cuncta eſſe diſpoſita nec poſſe quenquam contra Epiſcopi & Sacerdotes Uſurpare ſibi aliquid, quod non ſit ſui juris & poteſtatis; nam & Chore, & Dathan & Abyron, contra* Moyſen & Aaron *Sacerdotem ſacrificandi ſibi Licentiam Uſurpare conati ſunt: Nec tamen quid illicite auſi ſunt, impune fecerunt. Ep.* 73. *p.* 201.

Neither was St. *Cyprian* ſingular in this, for *Firmilian* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* is as plain, ſaying, (as I have cited him before) That *the Biſhops, who Govern the Church, poſſeſs the Power of Baptiſm, Confirmation, and Ordination.* And *Fortunatus* Biſhop of *Thuraboris*, another of St. *Cyprian*'s Contemporaries, in his *Suffrage* at the *Council* of *Carthage*, is as plain as either *Cyprian* or *Firmilian*. *Jeſus Chriſt*, ſays he, *our Lord and God, the Son of God the Father and Creator, built his Church upon a Rock, and not upon Hereſie, and gave the* Power *of* Baptizing *to* Biſhops, *and not to* Hereticks, *&c.*[t] Indeed, before St. *Cyprian*'s time, we have *Tertullian*, who ſpent moſt of his Days in the *Second Century*, and who, in his *Book* about *Baptiſm*, againſt *Quintilla*, to the Queſtion, *Who may Baptize?* anſwers poſitively, *The High-Prieſt, who is the Biſhop, hath the* Power *of* Baptizing; *and after him*, or in Subordination to him, *Presbyters and Deacons, but not without the* BISHOP's AUTHORITY[u]. And before him, we have the Apoſtolical *Ignatius*, who ſpent almoſt all his Days in the *Firſt Century*, and who ſays in expreſs Terms, *That it is not lawful to Baptize without the Biſhop*[v].

[t] *Jeſus Chriſtus Dominus noſter & Deus, Dei Patris & Creatoris Filius, ſuper Petram ædificavit Eccleſiam ſuam, non ſuper Hæreſin; &* Poteſtatem *Baptizandi* Epiſcopis *dedit, non Hæreticis: Quare qui extra Eccleſiam ſunt, & contra Chriſtum ſtantes, ovet ejus & Gregem ſpargunt, Baptizari non poſſunt. Conc. Carth. Suff.* 17.

[u] *Dandi quidem jus habet ſummus Sacerdos qui eſt Epiſcopus; dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen ſine Epiſcopi Auctoritate. Cap.* 17.

[v] Οὐκ ἔξον ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, *&c. Ad Smyrn. p.* 6.

2. A Biſhop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, had as much *Power* about the *Holy Euchariſt*: No Presbyter within his Diſtrict could Adminiſter it without his *Leave*, or againſt his *Interdict*. St. *Cyprian*'s Teſtimonies to this purpoſe are innumerable. Let me give you only One or Two, for Inſtance; Thus in his

16th

16th *Epiſtle* written to his Presbyters and Deacons, he reſents it highly, that ſome of his Presbyters ſhould have dared to admit the Lapſed to the Sacrament without his Allowance. *Such*, ſays he, *deny me the Honour of which by Divine Right I am poſſeſſed*, &c. Indeed, the 15th, 16th, and 17th *Epiſtles*, are to this purpoſe [vv]. And in his 59th *Epiſtle*, having cited *Mal.* 2. *v.* 1, 2. he Reaſons thus againſt all ſuch Presbyters as preſumed to Celebrate the *Euchariſt* without the *Biſhop's allowance*. *Is Glory given to God, when his Majeſty and Diſcipline is ſo contemned, that, when He ſays, He is Angry and full of Wrath againſt ſuch as Sacrifice to Idols, and when He threatens them with everlaſting Pains and Puniſhments, Sacrilegious Perſons ſhould preſume to ſay, Think not on the Wrath of God: Fear not the Divine Judgments: Knock not at the Church of Chriſt: That they ſhould cut off Repentance, and the Confeſſion of Sins; and* PRESBYTERS CONTEMNING *and* TRAMPLING ON THEIR BISHOPS, *ſhould preach Peace with Deceiving Words, and give the Communion*, &c. [x]

[vv] *Hi ſublato honore quem nobis beati Martyres — Servant, contempta Domini lege — quam iidem Martyres — tenendam mandant — ante reditum noſtrum Communicent cum lapſis, & offerant, & Euchariſtiam tradant.* *Ep.* 16. *p.* 38.

[x] *Honor ergo datur Deo, quando ſic Dei Majeſtas & Cenſura contemnitur ut cum ſe ille indignari & iraſci Sacrificantibus dicat, & cum pœnas æternas & ſupplicia perpetua comminetur: Proponatur a Sacrilegis & dicatur; ne iram cogitetur Dei; ne timeatur judicium Domini; ne pulſetur ad Eccleſiam Chriſti: Sed ſublata pœnitentia, nec ulla ex homologeſi Criminis facta, Deſpectis Epiſcopis atque* Calcatis, *Pax a* Presbyteris *verbis fallacibus prædicetur & Communicatio a non Communicantibus offeratur.* *Ep.* 59. *p.* 135.

And, 'tis a Paſſage very remarkable to this purpoſe, which we read in an Epiſtle of *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* to *Fabius* of *Antioch*, (both St. *Cyprian*'s Contemporaries) in which he tells, how one *Serapion*, an aged Man, after a long Perſeverance in the Chriſtian Faith, had firſt fallen from it in time of Perſecution, and then into a deadly Sickneſs: How, after he had been dumb and ſenſeleſs for ſome Days, recovering ſome uſe of his Tongue, he called quickly for one of the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria*, (for he lived in that City) that he might be Abſolved, and have the Sacrament, being perſwaded he ſhould not die till he ſhould be Reconciled to the Church: And how the *Presbyter* being ſick alſo, ſent the Sacrament to him: But by what *Right* or *Authority*? By *Dionyſius the Biſhop*. *For*, ſays he, *I had* COMMAND *that any Lapſed, if in danger of Death, eſpecially if he was an humble Supplicant for it, ſhould be Abſolved, that he might go out of*

of this World full of good Hopes, &c.[y] He being *Bishop* of that City, had given a COMMAND for it, otherwise it could not have been done. And all this was nothing more than *Ignatius* had told the World long before, *viz.* That *that is only to be deemed a firm and valid Eucharist, which is Celebrated by the Bishop, or by his Authority*[z].

[y] Ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ δομένης τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δέοιντο, καὶ μάλιστα, εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἱκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν, ἀφίεσθαι ἵν' εὐέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται. *Euseb. H. E. lib. 6. cap. 14.*

[z] Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. *Ign. ad Smyrn p. 6.*

Let me only add one Testimony more from St. *Cyprian* concerning both Sacraments; but such an one as ought not to be neglected. It is in his 69th Epistle written to *Magnus*. The great Purpose he pursues in it, is to represent the Atrocious Guilt of *Schism*, and the forlorn Condition of *Schismaticks*; that they cannot have *Valid Sacraments*, and that all their *Acts* are *Nullities, &c.* Amongst many Arguments to this effect, he insists on that famous one; Corah, Dathan, *and* Abiram, *were of that same Religion that* Moses *and* Aaron *were of, and served the same God whom* Moses *and* Aaron *served: But because they transgressed the Limits of their own Stations, and* Usurp'd *a* Power *of* Sacrificing *to themselves, in opposition to* Aaron *the Priest, who was only legally Invested with the Priesthood by God's Vouchsafement and Appointment: They were forthwith punished in a miraculous manner; neither could their Sacrifices be Valid or Profitable, being offered Unlawfully and Irreligiously, and against the Divine Ordinance. — And yet these Men had made no Schism: They had not departed from the* Tabernacle, nor raised another Altar, *&c. which now the Schismaticks do*, (meaning the *Novatians*,) *who dividing the Church, and rebelling against Christ's Peace and Unity, are bold to Constitute an* [Episcopal] *Chair, and assume to themselves a Primacy*, an Episcopal Authority, *and a* POWER OF BAPTIZING *and* OFFERING, that is, Celebrating the Holy Eucharist. What can be more plain than 'tis here, That no Sacraments could be Administred but in *dependance* on the *Bishop*[a]? Indeed,

[a] *Nam & Core, & Dathan, & Abyron, cum Sacerdote* Aaron *&* Moyse, *eundem Deum noverant, pari lege & Religione viventes, unum & verum Deum qui colendus atque invocandus fuerat, invocabant. Tamen quia Leci sui Mini-*

Miniſterium tranſgreſſi contra Aaron *Sacerdotem, qui Sacerdotium legitimum Dignationis Dei atque Ordinationis perceperat, Sacrificandi ſibi Licentiam vindicarunt, Divinitus percuſſi —— Nec potuerunt rata eſſe & proficere Sacrificia, irreligioſe & illicite contra jus Divinæ diſpoſitionis oblata. —— Et tamen illi Schiſma non fecerant; nec ſanctæ egreſſi —— Quod nunc hi Eccleſiam ſcindentes, & contra pacem & unitatem Chriſti rebelles, Cathedram ſibi conſtituere, & primatum aſſumere, & Baptizandi atque Offerendi licentiam vindicare conantur. Ep. 69. p. 184.*

3. Conſidering that, as I have fully proved, a *Biſhop* was, then, the *Principle of Unity to* the Church; that he was *Chief* Governour *of* the Church; and that, by conſequence, the *Supreme Power* of the *Keys* could not but belong to him: Conſidering that the *Church* was a *Viſible Society*; that he was the *Viſible Head* of that *Viſible Society*; and, by conſequence, that it belonged to him as ſuch, to take care that *Society* might ſuffer no *Detriment:* Conſidering theſe Things, I ſay, it was highly reaſonable, that he ſhould have the *Chief Power* of *Diſpenſing* the *Sacraments:* Such a *Power*, as that *neither* might be *diſpenſed* without him. What can be more *Detrimental* to a *Society*, eſpecially ſuch a *Society* as a Chriſtian Church, than *admitting* Unworthy Perſons to the *Priviledges* of it? Or *allowing* them to *continue* in it? Or *reſtoring* them to their Membership in the *Society*, after they have been *juſtly thruſt* from it, without conſidering whether they have given any Evidences of a ſerious Reformation? And who ſo proper to *judge* of theſe Matters, as the *Chief* Governour of the Society? And now,

Having thus made it evident, that a *Biſhop*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, had a *Negative* over all other Church-Officers within his Diſtrict, in the grand Concern of Diſpenſing both Sacraments; and that neither could be Adminiſtred without him, or againſt his Authority, I might fairly ſuperſede the trouble of making either a Minute or a laborious Demonſtration of his Sovereign Intereſt in the *Acts* of Excommunication, or injoyning Penances, or reconciling Penitents, or making, or reſcinding, or diſpenſing with Eccleſiaſtical Laws or Canons; in a word, in every thing relating to the Government or Diſcipline of the Church. All theſe *Acts depend* upon the *Sacraments*. His *Negative* therefore, about the *Diſpenſation* of the *Sacraments*, had been *in vain*, and to no purpoſe, if he had not had a Negative likewiſe about all theſe *Acts*. Beſides,

you

you will not readily ſay, I think, that he could have had a *Greater Truſt* by having a *Negative*, in any other Matter than in the Diſpenſing of the Sacraments. Having that, therefore, he might well be *intruſted* with a *Negative* in all other Things, either of *equal* (if any ſuch can be imagined) or *leſſer* Importance on which, the Order, the Subſiſtence, the Unity, the Peace, the Purity, the Proſperity, or whatſoever Intereſt of the Church could any way depend. Yet that I may give you all poſſible ſatisfaction, I ſhall proceed a little further, and give you, by way of Hiſtorical Deduction, ſuch an account of *Powers* lodged, *e. g.* in St. *Cyprian*'s Perſon, as you may fairly judge thereby, concerning the Preheminences of Biſhops in his Time.

The moſt current Account we have about him, is, that he was not Converted to Chriſtianity, at leaſt, not Baptized, till the Year 246. That he was Ordain'd a Presbyter, *Anno* 247; and Biſhop of *Carthage*, *Anno* 248. Chronologiſts do generally agree in this laſt Step of his Preferment. Now, as we learn both from himſelf, and from *Pontius* his Deacon, ſome of the *Carthaginian* Clergy were mighty Enemies to his Promotion [a]. Belike, they took it ill, that he, ſo lately converted to the Faith, ſo lately made a Presbyter, ſhould have been preferred to themſelves. However it was, certain it is, as I ſaid, that they appeared againſt him with all their might and main. But the People were ſo Generally and ſo Zealouſly for him, to have him their Biſhop, that theſe his Enemies were overpowered. Made Biſhop he was; and he was a Perſon ſo well Qualified, ſo Eminent in every Virtue, and withal ſo Strict and Cautious in his Life and Government, after he was made Biſhop, that it was not eaſie for the Mutineers to wreck their Malice on him: But this was ſo far from ſoftening them, and bringing them to a better temper, that, on the contrary, it imbittered them the more, and made them the more watchful of all Opportunities to breed him Troubles, and diſturb his Government. At laſt, they catch'd hold of one, and that a very dangerous one, in the time of the *Decian* Perſecution.

[a] *Vide Ep.* 43. *& vit. Cypr. poſtea cit.*

This Perſecution beginning towards the end of the Year 249, and laſting for a full Year; coming on the Church, after a long Peace, with a ſurprizing Violence, had very ſad

ſad Effects. Vaſt numbers turned Apoſtates, Renouncing the Holy Faith, and Sacrificing to the Heathen Idols: And *Cyprian* himſelf, commanded by God, had retired from *Carthage* till there ſhould be ſome Relentment of the Fury of the Perſecution. Here, I ſay, his ſubtle Enemies found their ſo long wiſhed Opportunity: For, the *Lapſed*, ſo ſoon as the Hazard was over, reſumed their Chriſtian Profeſſion, and turned mighty forward, if not furious, to be reſtored to the Communion of the Church. Thô they knew full well, that they were bound by the *Canons* to have continued, for a long time, in the ſtate of *Penitents*; yet they thought their Numbers, and perhaps their Qualities, might overpower the Canons, and claim *Indulgences* and *Diſpenſations*. With them ſtruck in thoſe Clergy-men, who had ſtill retained the old Grudges againſt St. *Cyprian*'s Promotion, encouraging their Preſumptions. They knew, he was a Man of Principles, and had a mighty Zeal for the real Intereſts of Chriſtianity; and, by conſequence, that he would ſtand Reſolutely by the Canons of the Church, and be clear, that the *Lapſed* ſhould perfect their *Terms* of *Penance*: They ſaw the Eagerneſs of the Lapſed to be ſooner reconciled, than the Canons allowed: They reſolved therefore to fall in with them, thinking that thereby they ſhould effectually put a Thorn in his Foot; they ſhould enflame the Lapſed, and their Relations, perchance, the great Body of the People againſt him. But this was not all.

It was not enough for them themſelves to encourage the *Lapſed* in their Petulancies: The Biſhops *Prelation* over Preſbyters was then ſo Notorious, that, as malicious as they were, they had not Impudence enough to ſet up *theirs* in oppoſition to *his* Authority, and Reconcile the *Lapſed* to the Church, meerly upon the ſcore of their *own Credit*, againſt his *Will* and *Orders*; and therefore, they fell upon another Project. If it was poſſible for any *other* to ſtand up againſt the *Biſhops* Authority, it was *that* of the *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*. Theſe, for their Faith and Patience; their fervent Zeal, and fragrant Graces; their glorious Courage, and good Example; that they might Perſevere themſelves, and others might be encouraged to follow their Patern; were held in mighty Reputation. They were reputed as dearer to God, and in a cloſer

Communion with him, and nearer Approximation to him, than Chriſtians of the common ſize: And their Interceſſions had been in uſe of being much regarded in former Perſecutions. Theſe, therefore, as the only Perſons whoſe Credit could be feaſibly put in the Ballance with the Biſhops Authority, the Holy Man's Supplanters inſtigated to eſpouſe the Quarrel of the Lapſed; to become their Patrons, for having themſelves Abſolved againſt the Biſhop's Reſolutions. And truly, ſome of them were ſo far wrought upon, as to turn Zealous for it: And, armed with their Authority, theſe diſcontented Presbyters adventured to *Abſolve* the *Lapſed*, and receive them to the Sacrament, without the Biſhop's *Allowance*. Now conſider what followed, and ſpeak your Conſcience, and tell me, if St. *Cyprian* was not more than either *Single Presbyter*, or *Presbyterian Moderator*.

Thô he was one of the mildeſt and moſt humble Men that ever lived; yet, ſo ſoon as this was told him, where he was, in his Retirement, he was not a little alarm'd: The Practice was ſurprizing, and the Preſumption *new*, as well as *bold*: The like had never been done before in any Chriſtian Church: And ſuch prepoſterous Methods clearly tended to ſhake all the Foundations of Order and good Diſcipline: And therefore he thought it high time for him, if he could, to give the Check to ſuch irregular and unexampled Methods. In ſhort, he drew his Pen, and wrote Three notable Epiſtles; *one* to the *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*; *Another* to his *Clergy*; and a *third* to his *People*: Inſiſting, in each of them, upon the Noveſty and Unwarrantableneſs of the Courſe was taken; the Diſhonours and Indignities were done himſelf by it; and the great Miſchiefs and fatal Conſequences might, nay would, unavoidably follow upon it, if it were not forborn. More particularly,

In that to the *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*, he told them, *That his Epiſcopal Care, and the Fear of God, compelled him to Admoniſh them, That, as they had devoutly and courageouſly kept the Faith, ſo they ought, ſuitably, to be obſervant of Chriſt's Holy Laws and Diſcipline: That, as it became all Chriſt's Soldiers to obey their General's Commands; ſo it was their Duty, in a ſpecial manner, to be Exam[illegible]s to others: That he had thought, the Presbyters and Deacons, who were with them, might have taught them*

ſo

ſo much: But that now, to his extream Grief, he underſtood, they had been ſo far from doing that; that, on the contrary, ſome of them, eſpecially ſome Presbyters, neither minding the Fear of God, nor the Honour of their Biſhop, had induſtriouſly miſled them. He complain'd mightily of *the Preſumption of ſuch Presbyters, that againſt all Law and Reaſon, they ſhould have dared to Reconcile the Lapſed without his Conſent. That herein they were more Criminal than the Lapſers themſelves: That it was ſomewhat Excuſable in the Lapſed to be earneſt for an Abſolution; conſidering the uncomfortable State they were in, ſo long as they were denied the Communion of the Church: But it was the Duty of Office-bearers in the Church to do nothing raſhly, leſt, inſtead of Paſtors, they ſhould prove Worriers of the Flock,* &c. And then he told theſe Martyrs and Confeſſors, how far their Priviledges reached: All they could do, was, *by way of humble Supplication, to Petition the Biſhop for a Relaxation of the Rules of Diſcipline: But they had neither Power to Command him, nor Grant Indulgences without him* [b]. Indeed, this he told them frequently, and that they went beyond their Line if they ventured any further [c].

[b] *Sollicitudo Loci noſtri, & timor Domini compellit, fortiſſimi & beatiſſimi Martyres, admonere vos literis noſtris, ut a quibus tam devote & fortiter ſervatur fides Domino, ab iiſdem Lex quoque & Diſciplina Domini reſervetur. Nam cum omnes militet Chriſti cuſtodire oporteat præcepta imperatoris ſui, tum vos magis præceptis ejus obtemperare plus convenit, qui exemplum cæteris facti eſtis & virtutis & timoris Dei. Et credideram quidem* Presbyteros *& Diaconos qui illic præſintes ſunt, monere vos & inſtruere pleniſſime circa Evangelii legem, ſicut in præteritum ſemper ſub* Anteceſſoribus *noſtris factum eſt* —— *Sed nunc cum maximo animi dolore cognoſco, non tantum illic vobis non ſuggeri Divina Præcepta, ſed adhuc potius impediri, ut ea* —— *a quibuſdam* Presbyteris *reſolvantur, qui nec timorem Dei, nec* Epiſcopi honorem *cogitantes* —— *Contra* Evangelii legem —— *ante aſſam panitentiam, ante exomologeſin graviſſimi atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab Epiſcopo & clero in panitentiam impoſitam,* offerre *pro illis, &* Euchariſtiam *dare, i. e. ſanctum Domini Corpus profanare audeant.* —— *Et* Lapſis *quidem poteſt in hoc venia concedi: Quis enim non mortuus vivificari properet? Quis non ad ſalutem ſuam venire feſtinet? Sed præpoſiturum eſt præceptum tenere, & vel properantes, vel ignorantes inſtruere, ne qui ovium Paſtores eſſe debuit, Lanii fiant.* —— *Petitiones & deſideria veſtra Epiſcopo ſervent, &c. Ep.* 15. *p.* 33, 34.

[c] *Vide* De Lapſis, *p.* 129, 131, 138. *Ep.* 16. *p.* 37. *Ep.* 17. *p.* 39. *Ep.* 36. *p.* 70.

In *that* to his Presbyters and Deacons, he wrote in a yet more reſenting Strain. He told them, *He had long kept his Patience, and held his Peace; but their immoderate Preſumption and Temerity would ſuffer him no longer to be ſilent. For what a dreadful Proſpect*, ſays he, *muſt we have of the Divine Ven-*

grance, when some Presbyters, neither mindful of the Gospel, nor their own Stations, nor regarding the future Judgments of God, nor the Bishop, who, for the time, is set over them; dare attempt what was never attempted before, under any of my Predecessors, namely, so to Affront and Contemn their Bishop, as to assume all to themselves? And then he proceeds to tell them, how *he could overlook and bear with the Indignity done to his Episcopal Authority, if there were no more in it: But the course they followed was so wicked; they were so injurious to the Lapsed whom they presumed to Reconcile so Uncanonically; their Pride and Popularity were so apparent in their Method; it was such a Crime, so to Expose the Martyrs to Envy, and set them at Variance with their Bishop,* &c. *that he could stifle it no longer.* In short, all over the Epistle he wrote like a Bishop, and concluded it with a Peremptory Threatning of a *present Suspension from the Exercise of their Office, and then an Infliction of further Censures when he should return from his Retirement,* if they should Persevere in such a Lawless Course [d].

[d] *Diu patientiam vestram tenui. F.G. qiasi verecundum silentium vestrum proficeret ad quietem. Sed cum quorundam immoderata & abrupta præsumptio, temeritate sua, & honorem Martyrum, & Confessorum puderem, & Plebis universæ tranquillitatem turbare conetur, tacere ultra non oportet. —— Quid enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini; quando aliqui de Presbyteris, nec Evangelii, nec Loci sui memores; sed neque futuram Domini judicium, neque nunc sibi Præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum Contumelia & Contemptu Præpositi totum sibi vindicaverit? Contumeliam Episcopatus nostri dissimulare & ferre possem, sicut dissimulavi semper & pertuli, sed dissimulandi nunc Locus non est, quando decipiatur fraternitas vestra, a quibusdam vestrum; qui dum sine ratione restituenda salutis plausibiles esse cupiunt, magis Lapsis obsunt —— Expensum deinde invidiæ Beatos Martyres, & Gloriosos servos Dei cum Dei Sacerdote committunt. —— Interim Temerarii & Incauti & Tumidi quidam inter vos, qui hominem non cogitent, vel Deum timeant; scientes quoniam si ultra in iisdem perseveraverint, utar ea admonitione, qua me uti Dominus jubet, ut interim* prohibeantur offerre; *Aturi & apud nos & apud Confessores ipsos, & apud Plebem universam, causam suam, cum, Domino permittente, in sinum matris Ecclesiæ Colligi caperimus. Ep. 16. p. 36, 37, 38. imo lege totam Epist.*

In that to his People, he proceeded on the same Principles; condemned these Presbyters, who had acted so disorderly, *not reserving to the Bishop the Honour of his Chair and Priesthood:* Told them, *That these Presbyters ought to have taught the People otherwise*; Laid to their Charge the Affectation of Popularity; and required such of the People as had not fallen, to take Pains upon the Lapsed; to try to bring them

them to a better Temper; to perſwade them to hearken to his Counſel, and wait his Return, *&c.* [e]

[e] *Audio tamen quoſdam de* Presbyteris *nec* Evangelii *memores* —— *Nec Epiſcopo* honorem Sacerdotii *ſui &* Cathedræ *reſervantes, jam cum* Lapſis *communicare cæpiſſe* —— *Vos quidem* Noſtri Presbyteri *& Diaconi monere debuerant, ut commendatas ſibi Oves foverent.* —— *Ego Plebis noſtræ & quietem novi pariter & timorem, qui in ſatisfactione Dei & deprecatione vigilarent, niſi illos quidem de* Presbyteris *GRATIFICANTES decepiſſent. Vel vos itaque ſingulos regite, & Conſilio ac Moderatione veſtra, & ſecundum divina præcepta* Lapſorum *animos temperate, &c. Ep.* 17. *p.* 39.

Here were three Epiſtles written, I think, in plain *Prelatick Stile*; ſure, neither in the *Stile* of *Single Presbyter*, nor *Presbyterian Moderator*: Eſpecially if we conſider the very next, written to his Presbyters and Deacons upon the ſame Principles, ſtill. He had written to them ſeveral times before from the Place of his Retirement, but had received no Anſwer from them. Now conſider how he Reſents this, and, Reſenting it, aſſerts his own Epiſcopal Authority; his own Sovereign Power in Eccleſiaſtick Matters: For thus he begins; *I wonder, dear Brethren, that you have returned no Anſwers to the many Letters I have ſent you; eſpecially conſidering, that now, in my Retirement, you ought to inform me of every thing that happens; that ſo I may, adviſedly and deliberately, give Orders concerning the Affairs of the Church* [f]. Let any Man lay theſe four Letters together, and weigh them impartially, and then let him judge if St. *Cyprian* wrote in the *Stile* of *Parity*, if he claim'd not a *Sovereign Power*, a *Negative*, to himſelf, over all the Chriſtians, Presbyters as well as others, living within his Diſtrict.

[f] *Miror vos, F. C. ad multas Epiſtolas meas quas ad vos frequenter, miſi, nunquam mihi reſcripſiſſe, cum fraternitatis noſtræ vel utilitas vel neceſſitas ſic utique guberuetur, ſi a vobis inſtructi, rerum gerendarum Conſilium limare poſſimus. Ep.* 18. *p.* 40.

But did not *Cyprian* ſhew *too much Zeal in this Cauſe? Poſſibly, he attempted to ſtretch his Power a little too far; as afterwards many did: He was a Holy and Meek Man, but ſuch may be a little too High.* So I read, indeed, in a late Book [g]. But it ſeems, the Author has found himſelf very ſore put to it when he ſaid ſo: For how can one not be ſore put to it, when he cannot eſcape but by ſeeking for Refuge in a Reconciliation between Pride and Patience, Superciliouſneſs and Self-denial, Huffyneſs and Humility, Carnal Height and Chriſtian Holineſs? But to let this paſs,

[g] *Rational Defence of Non-Conformity, p.* 179.

Had

Had that Author any ſolid Ground for ſaying ſo? Or rather, had it been poſſible for him to have ſaid ſo, had he had but an ordinary Acquaintance with St. *Cyprian*, or his *Epiſtles*? Charge *Pride* on the *Humble Cyprian*! *Cyprian*, who was ſo *very Humble*, that from the Conſcience of his own Nothingneſs, he has ſtill been looked upon as a *Patern* of *Humility*! *Cyprian*, whoſe *Humility* would not allow him almoſt to ſpeak in the *Stile* of *Authority*, even to *Fœmule Laicks* [h]! *Cyprian*, who was perſwaded, that God would hear none but the *Humble* and *Quiet* [i]! *Cyprian*, who believed, that none could be a *Chriſtian*, and withal, be *Proud* and *Haughty* [k]! Who inſiſted on his own *Humility* in that very Epiſtle, for which that Author charges him with *Pride* [l]! Who, if in any thing, *Gloried* moſt in his *Humble* and *Baſhful Modeſty* [m]! Who, when accuſed of *Pride*, could Appeal not only to all Chriſtians, but even to the *Heathen Infidels*, as Witneſſes of his *Innocence* [n]! *Cyprian*, who had this Great Teſtimony from ſome of his Contemporaries, That *he was the Greateſt Preacher, the Moſt Eloquent Orator, the Wiſeſt in Counſel, the Simpleſt in Patience, the Moſt Charitable in Alms, the Holieſt in Abſtinence, the Humbleſt in Obligingneſs, and the Moſt Innocent in every Good Action* [o]! And from others, *That he had a Candid and a Bleſſed Breaſt! &c.* [p] In a word, *Cyprian*, whoſe *Humility* was ſuch, that, if we may believe his Deacon *Pontius*, *He fled and lurk'd when they were going to make him a Biſhop* [q]! Such, that when St. *Auguſtine*, many years after, was preſſed with his Authority, he came off with this, *The Authority of* Cyprian *doth*

[h] *Ad hæc loquimur, hæc ad hortamur affectione potius quam poteſtate: Non quod extremi & minimi & humilitatis noſtræ admodum conſcii, aliquid adCenſuram licentiæ vindicemus, &c.* De Hab. Virg. p. 94.

[i] *Si mit Dominus humiles & quietos —— Conſpexerit, tutos ab inimici infeſtationibus exhibebit.* Ep. 11. p. 26.

[k] *Et quiſquam per ipſum (Chriſtum) nunc, atque in ipſo vivens extollere ſe audet & ſuperbire?* Ep. 13. p. 30.

[l] *Vide* Superius Citata, *ex Ep.* 16.

[m] *Nec nos putes, F. C. noſtra & humana conſcribere, aut ultroneâ voluntate hoc nobis audacter aſſumere, cum Mediocritatem noſtram ſemper humili & verecunda moderatione tenuamus.* Ep. 63. p. 148.

[n] *Humilitatem meam & Fratres omnes, & Gentiles quoque optime norunt & diligunt.* Ep. 66. p. 166.

[o] *Et enim omnibus in Tractatu major, in Sermone facundior, in Conſilio ſapientior, in patientia ſimplicior, in Operibus largior, in Abſtinentia ſanctior, in Obſequio humilior, & in actu bene innocentior.* Ep. 77. p. 234.

[p] —*Pectus illud tuum Candidum ac Beatum* — Ep. 78. p. 235. ——*Dt Animi tui candore* —— Ep. 79. p. 236.

[q] *Pontius in Vit. a* Cyp. p. 3.

not

not fright me, because the Humility of Cyprian *encourages me*[t]! Such a Person was *Cyprian*; And yet so *Proud* was he, forsooth, for doing his Duty; for asserting his Episcopal Authority, when most undutifully trampled on by his presuming Presbyters.

[t] *Non me terret Auctoritas* Cypriani, *quia refecit humilitas* Cypriani. Auguſt. *l.* 2. *De Baptiſmo.*

What I have said, methinks, might be enough in all conscience, for defeating for ever that Uncharitable, shall I say, or Ignorant Suggestion, That it was *Pride*, perhaps, that prompted *Cyprian* to write so Magisterially to the *Carthaginian* Presbyters; yet, because a farther Discussion of it may contribute not a little for clearing up the Bishop's *Negative*, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, I shall not grudge to give it you.

St. *Cyprian* had three sorts of People to deal with in that Controversie, which bred him so much Trouble. He had the *Lapsed* themselves; the *Martyrs* and *Confessors*; and these *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, who had encroached so much on his Episcopal Authority.

I am apt to think, the Author himself, with whom I have now to do, will not be shy to grant, That St. *Cyprian*, without incurring the *Reputation* of either *Proud* or *Presumptuous*, might have chided the *Lapsed*, as we find he did: They had Cowardly renounced their Christianity, to save their Lives and Fortunes; and the Canons subjected them to a strict and a long Penance for it: And I think, without the *imputation* of either *Height* or *Humour*, one in St. *Cyprian*'s Station might have put them in mind of the Respect they owed to the Canons of the Church, and the Governours of it. Indeed, all the *Lapsed* were not engaged in the disorderly Course. There were some of them who were sensible of their Duty, and subjected themselves to their Bishop, resolving to wait his time, and intirely to depend upon him for their Absolution, as we learn from his 33d Epistle.

His Difficulty was greater with the *Martyrs and Confessors*, who appeared as Patrons to the Prejudicating Lapsed; but neither need I insist on that, nor how he conquered them in point of *Right* and *Argument*: For, this Author told Dr. *Stillingfleet*, *He was wholly out of the way in medling with that Matter, seeing none ever imagined that every Martyr had Church Power.* Thô I must tell you, *Sir*, That whoso reads St. *Cyprian*'s Works, and particularly observes the State and Ma-

Management of this whole Controverſie about the *Lapſed*, cannot but be convinced, that the Reputation and Authority of *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*, made a far greater Figure in it, than the Reputation or Authority of *Presbyters*. To come therefore to that which is the main Point with this Author,

Let us try, if St. *Cyprian ſtretch'd his Power too far in his* Treatment of the Presbyters, who appeared againſt him in this Controverſie. Conſider the following Steps, and then judge.

1. Conſider that St. *Cyprian* doth not fall a *huffing* or *bectoring*, or running them down by Noiſe or Clamour. No, "He "Reaſons the Caſe with them, and Reaſons all along from "known and received Principles. He tells them plainly in"deed, That in Preſuming as they had done, they had for"gotten both the *Goſpel*, and their own *Station*: That he was "their *Superiour*: That they did not pay him the *Honour* "that was *due* to his *Chair* and *Character*: That the *like* had "never been attempted before by *Presbyters*, under any of "his *Predeceſſor-Biſhops*: That it was a *Factious*, *Selfiſh* Tem"per, and too great *Love* of *Popularity* that prompted them "to Meaſures ſo in no-wiſe Preſidented: That he knew the "Secret of the Matter, and that it was the *old Grudge* againſt "his being preferred to the *Biſhoprick* that byaſs'd them to "their Inſolencies: That it belonged to him as having the "*Chief Power* of the *Keys*, as being *Biſhop*, *i.e.* as having the "*viſible Sovereignty* in Church Matters, to *ſtraiten* or *ſlacken* "the Sinews of Diſcipline; to *prolong* or *ſhorten* the Cour"ſes of Penance; to *grant* Abſolutions, and *reconcile* Peni"tents, *&c.* That ſuch Preſumptions were Encroachments "upon the very Foundations of the Church, to the Subver"ſion whereof, their pretending to any *Power*, in oppoſi"tion to the *Biſhops*, tended: In ſhort, That ſuch Practices "were againſt Chriſt's *Inſtitution*, and the Analogies of Go"vernment, and all the Laws of Order, Peace and Unity: "And they deſerved the ſharpeſt Cenſures for them. Theſe, I ſay, are a Sample of the Arguments St. *Cyprian* inſiſted on againſt thoſe *Presbyters*; and moſt of them were founded on *Matter of Fact*: And now, ſuppoſe St. *Cyprian* had

had

had considerable *Vases of Brass*, yet if you will but allow him, withall, to have had some *Grains* of *Common Sense* or *Honesty*, can you so much as imagine he could have used such Arguments, if they had wanted Foundation? Would he not have been ashamed to have used them, if *he*, and not *his* Presbyters, had been guilty of the *Usurpations* he was Condemning? But what needs more? Have I not fully proved already, That a Bishop, in St. *Cyprian's* time, was the *Principle of Unity* to all the Christians, Presbyters as well as others, within his District? And that he was a Sovereign and *Peerless* Governour of the *Church* which he *Ruled*. And were not all his *Reasonings* founded on these *Principles*? But this is not all; for,

2. Consider that they were not all the Presbyters of *Carthage*, who were engaged in the Quarrel. No: *Rogatianus*, *Britius*, *Numidicus*, and, perhaps, many more, whose Names are not transmited to us, would never joyn with those of the *Faction*; but still continued in their Duty to St. *Cyprian*. And can we think, they would not have joyned with their Brethren for the Maintenance of their *own Rights* and *Priviledges*, if *Cyprian* had been the *Usurper*? If he had been Claiming a *Sovereign Power*, without any *Pretence* of *Right* to it? If he had been driving at a *Prelacy*, when the Government of the Church belonged to Presbyters acting in *Parity*? We learn from St *Cyprian* himself, That, in those Times, *it was a mighty Wickedness for Men to part tamely with their Rights and Powers in Divine Matters*[s]. And can we think, that *Rogatianus*, *Britius*, and *Numidicus*, were ignorant of this? Or, supposing that should have had small Weight with them, is *Power* such a *gustless* Thing, that Men will *easily* part with it without any *Reason*? But to go on.

[s] *Quam periculosum sit autem in Divinis rebus ut quis cedat jure suo & potestate, &c.* Ep. 73. p. 209.

3. Even those very Presbyters and Deacons of the *Faction* came once to something like a Dutiful *Submission* in the Matter. They *lower'd* their Sails, and began to *write* Apologies, and *knit* Excuses for what they had done. They endeavoured to put a *fair Face* upon the *foul Steps* they had made: They wrote to *Cyprian*, That they had done what they could to bridle the Heats of the Lapsed, and oblige them to con-

tinue in their Penances, till his Return from his Retirement; but that they were so Ungovernable and Stiff, and urged a present Absolution so eagerly and irresistibly, that they were forced, in a manner, to comply with their Humours: But now seeing they found, that he, their Bishop, was so much displeased with what they had done, *they asked a* FORM *from him, i. e.* his *Will* and *Pleasure* in the Matter[t]. And now, let any Man consider, whether St. *Cyprian* or these *Presbyters* had been in the Wrong before? Whether *He* or *They* had acted beyond their *Limits*? But I have more to tell you: For,

[t] *Legi literas vestras, F. C. quibus scripsistis salubre Consilium vestrum non deesse fratribus nostris, ut temeraria festinatione depositâ, Religiosam patientiam Deo præbeant, ut cum in unum per ejus misericordiam venerimus, de omnibus speciebus secundum Ecclesiasticam Disciplinam tractare possimus. —— Quoniam tamen significastis quosdam immoderatos esse & Communicationem accipiendam festinanter urgere; Et desideraſtis in hac re* FORMAM *a me vobis dari, &c. Ep.* 19. *p.* 41.

4. These Presbyters, who had thus transgressed the Bounds of their Station, were generally Condemn'd for it, by their Brethren Presbyters, all the World over: At least, we have a most remarkable Instance in the Presbyters of *Rome*. Take it thus.

St. *Cyprian* being a Wise and Watchful, as well as an Holy and Humble *Prelate*; one, who had still before his Eyes the Conservation of the Order, the Peace, and the Unity of the Church Catholick; and perceiving that the Controversie concerning the Restitution of the *Lapsed*, might be of bad Influence on those great Interests, if not prudently determined; thought fit to acquaint his Brethren of the *Episcopal Colledge* with it, and ask their Sentiments about it: And because there was no Bishop then at *Rome*, he wrote to the Presbyters and Deacons, the *Roman* Presbytery. The *Epistle* is the 20th in Number. In which he deduced the whole Matter to them, and told them particularly, how he had Exerted his Episcopal Authority, in its *Vigour*, against such of his Presbyters as, without his *Leave*, had boldly and presumptuously *Absolved* the *Lapsed*, and given them the Sacrament[u]. Now consider their Return to him: You have it in the 30th *Epistle*.

[u] *Item Presbyteris & Diaconibus non defuit* Sacerdotii vigor, *ut quidam Disciplinæ minus in mores, & temeraria festinatione præcipites qui tam lapsis communicare jam cœperant comprimerentur. Ep.* 20. *p.* 43.

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They begin with the Acknowledgment of his *Supream* and Unaccountable Power within his own Diſtrict, which I obſerved before[v]: They impute it to his *Modeſty* and *Caution*, (not to his *Pride* and *Petulancy*,) that he had been pleaſed to communicate his Meaſures to them: They approve the Courſe he had taken with the *Lapſed*: They compare him to the *Maſter* of a *Ship*, ſitting at the *Helm*, who, if he *ſteers* not right, and keeps not a *ſteddy Courſe*, eſpecially in a *Storm*, endangers the *Ship*, and runs her upon *Rocks* or *Shelves*: And I think, the *Maſter* of a *Ship* doth not *act* in *Parity* with the reſt of the *Mariners*. And further, They compare thoſe who, at that time, endeavoured to interrupt the Courſe of his Diſcipline, Presbyters as well as others, to the *Tumbling Waves*, ſtriving to *ſhake* the *Maſter* from the *Helm*, and expoſe all to the Hazards of *Shipwrack*. In plain Terms, they condemn the Courſe of Reconciling the *Lapſed*, ſo Undutifully and Rebelliouſly. As for themſelves, they tell him, (and pray take notice of it,) *That, wanting a Biſhop*, they could *define* nothing in the Matter: They tell him, I ſay, That *ſince the Death of* Fabianus *of moſt Noble Memory, through the Difficulties of the Times, and the Encumbrances of their Affairs, they had not got a Biſhop Conſtituted; who only could define in theſe Matters, and determine in the Caſe of the Lapſed with AUTHORITY and Counſel*[vv]. But withal, they tell him, That, for their parts, they were extreamly well pleaſed with the Courſe he had taken; namely, That he had reſolved to do nothing raſhly, to take no ſudden Reſolutions in a Matter of ſuch Conſequence; but to wait till God ſhould grant him opportunity of Treating about it with others, and determining with common Advice in ſuch a tickliſh Caſe[x]: Where obſerve by the way, That they do not found the Wiſdom of this his Reſolution on any thing like the *Incompetency* of his

[v] Page .

[vv] *Quanquam nobis diſſerendæ hujus rei neceſſitas major incumbat, quibus, poſt exceſſum nobiliſſimæ memoriæ viri Fabiani, nondum eſt Epiſcopus propter rerum & temporum difficultates conſtitutus, qui omnia iſta moderetur, & eorum qui* Lapſi *ſunt poſſit cum AUCTORITATE & Conſilio habere Rationem.* Ep. 30. p. 59.

[x] *Quanquam nobis in tam ingenti negotio placeat quod & tu ipſe tractaſti, prius Eccleſiæ pacem ſuſtinendam, deinde, ſic collatione Conſiliorum cum Epiſcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confeſſoribus pariter ac ſtantibus laicis facta, Lapſorum tractare rationem. Perquam enim nobis & invidioſum & Oneroſum videtur, non per multos Examinare, quod per multos Commiſſum videatur fuiſſe; & unum ſententiam dicere cum tam grande Crimen per multos diffuſum notetur exiſſe; quoniam aut firmum decretum poteſt eſſe quod non plurimorum videbitur habuiſſe conſenſum.* Ibid.

Power, for having determined by *himself* concerning the *Lapsed*, within his own *District*: No, the Reason they give for it, supposes his *Power* to have been fully *Adequate* and *Competent* for that *Effect*; and, that if he had given the *final Stroke*, no body could have Quarrel'd it: For they insist only on the *Rules* of *Prudence*, which, if I mistake not, are quite different from the *Rules* of *Power*. They tell him, it might prove *Invidious and Burdensom for one Bishop to Determine by himself, in a Case in which all Bishops were concerned; and that it was Providently done of him to desire the Consent of his Colleagues, that his Decrees might be Approved and Confirmed; That they might not be made void through the want of the Brotherly Ratification.* These are the Reasons, I say, for which they justifie his *Caution*; and these Reasons suppose he had *Power* to have done otherwise, thô not so *wisely*, nor so *warily*. And then they tell him over again, *That they had met frequently, and canvassed the Matter seriously; They had tossed it, not only amongst themselves, but with several Bishops, far and near, as they had occasion to be in the City; and that still the Conclusion was, That they should attempt no Innovations till a Bishop should be settled: All they had Resolved was, That those of the Lapsed, whose Health might allow, should continue in the State of the Penitents, till God should grant them a Bishop*[y].

[y] *Cujus temperamenti Moderationem nos hic tenere quærentes, diu, & quidem multi, & quidem cum quibusdam Episcopis vicinis nobis & appropinquantibus & quos in aliis provinciis longe positis Persecutionis istius ardor ejecerat, ante Constitutionem Episcopi nihil innovandum putavimus, sed Lapsorum curam Mediocriter temperandam esse Credidimus, ut, interim, dum* Episcopus dari a Deo nobis sustinetur, *in suspenso eorum qui Moras possint dilationis sustinere, causa teneatur.* Ibid. p. 60.

Neither was this a meer Complement to our Holy Martyr: Indeed, in all this, they gave him a true Account of their Real Sentiments and Principles, as we learn from another *Epistle* of theirs, wherein they had neither Occasion nor Temptation to *Complement* Bishops. The Epistle is that which is the *Eighth*, amongst St. *Cyprian*'s. An Epistle written by them to the Presbyters and Deacons of *Carthage*; to Persons of their own *Rank* and *Quality*: By consequence, an Epistle, in which, had they understood it, had the Principles of those Times allowed it, they might have spoken their Minds very freely concerning the *Power* of *Presbyters*. Never had *Presbyters*, I am sure, more Freedom, or better Opportunity, to have

have asserted their own *Power*, and Vindicated *Purity*, and Condem'd *Prelatical Usurpations*, in an Epistle, than they had on that Occasion; for *Fabianus* Bishop of *Rome* was dead, and *Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage* was retired; and so it was written by *Presbyters* who had *no* Bishop, to *Presbyters* in the *absence* of their Bishop: And yet, in that Epistle, they were so far from having any such Notions, that they said expressly, That both Themselves who wanted One, and those of *Carthage* who wanted the Presence of One, *were only seemingly the Governours of those respective Churches; and only kept the Flocks, in stead of the respective Pastors, the Bishops*[a]. And further, telling what Pains they had been at to keep People from Apostatizing in the Day of Trial, they account how they Treated those who had fallen, particularly, that they did separate them from the Flock indeed, but so, as not to be wanting in their Duty and Assistance to them: They did what was proper for their Station: They exhorted them to continue patiently in their Penances, as being the most plausible Method for *obtaining Indulgences from him who could give them*[a]: That is, without Controversie, from the Bishop when he should be settled. For so I read in an Epistle, written at that same time by *Celerinus* a *Roman*, to *Lucianus* a *Carthaginian*, and the 21st in Number among St. *Cyprian*'s, that when the Cause of *Numeria* and *Candida*, two Female *Lapsers*, was brought before the *Presbytery* of *Rome*, the *Presbytery* commanded them to continue as they were, *i.e.* in the State of Penitents, till *a Bishop should be Inthroned*[b]. And now, let any Man judge, whether, according to the Principles and Sentiments of the Presbyters of *Rome*, St. *Cyprian* or his presuming Presbyters had *taken too much upon them* at *Carthage*. But neither is this all yet; for,

[a] *Et cum incumbit nobis qui VIDEMUR præpositi esse, & VICE PASTORIS cubamus regere Gregem.* Ep. 8. p. 16.

[a] *Sed ipsos roborabimus & hortabimur agere pœnitentiam si quomodo indulgentiam poterunt recipere ab EO QUI POTEST PRÆSTARE.* Ibid. p. 17.

[b] *Quarum jam causa audita, præceperunt eas Præpositi tantisper sic esse,* donec Episcopus Constituatur. Ep. 21. p. 46.

5. These *Carthaginian* Presbyters were also Condemned by the *Roman Martyrs* and *Confessors*, who, tho they were in Prison, had learned the State of the Controversie, from the Accounts St. *Cyprian* had sent to *Rome*, two of them, *Moyses* and *Maximus*, being also *Presbyters*. These *Martyrs* and *Confessors* wrote also to St. *Cyprian*, and to the same purpose the *Roman* Clergy had done: Their Epistle is the 31st in number: In which, they not only beg with a peculiar Earnestness,

neſs, *That he, being ſo Glorious a Biſhop, would pray for them*; They not only lay a ſingular ſtreſs upon his Prayers beyond the Prayers of others, by reaſon of the Opinion they had of his Holy Virtues, which, I am apt to think, ſuch Men as they would not probably have done, had they believed him to have been a *Proud aſpiring Prelate*, that is, indeed, a *Limb of Antichriſt*, as this Author would fain give him out to have been: But alſo they heartily Congratulate his diſcharging, ſo Laudibly, his Epiſcopal Office; and that even in his Retirement, he had made it ſo much his Care to acquit himſelf, *that he had halted in no part of his Duty*; and particularly, *That he had ſuitably Cenſured and Rebuked, not only the Lapſed, who, little regarding the Greatneſs of their Guilt, had, in his Abſence, extorted the Churches Peace from his Presbyters; but even theſe Presbyters for their profane Facility, in giving that which was Holy to Dogs, and caſting Pearls before Swine, without any Regard to the Goſpel.* In ſhort, They Approve his whole Proceeding, as having done nothing Unſuitable to his Character, nothing Unbecoming either an *Holy* or an *Humble* Biſhop[c]. Further yet.

[c] *Pete ergo Cypriane cariſſime, ut nos gratia ſua Dominus — armet & illuſtret —— Cui enim magis hæc ut pro nobis petat, mandare debemus, quam tam Glorioſo Epiſcopo? —— Ecce aliud gaudium noſtrum quod in* Officio Epiſcopatus tui, *licet interim, a fratribus pro temporis conditione diſtractus es, tamen non deſuiſti —— Animadvertimus enim te congruente cenſura & eos digne objurgaſſe, qui immemores delictorum ſuorum, pacem a* Presbyteris, *per abſentiam tuam, ſtimulis & præcipiti cupiditate extorſiſſent, & ILLOS qui ſine reſpectu Evangelii, Sanctum Domini Canibus; & Margaritas porcis, profana facilitate donaſſent.* Ep. 31.

6. Theſe ſame *Carthaginian* Presbyters reſuming their former Boldneſs, and *Topping* it over again with their Biſhop, were *Excommunicated* by him, and his Sentence was Approved and Ratified by all *Catholick Biſhops* in all Catholick Churches all the World over, as ſhall be ſhewn you fully by and by. And then,

7. And laſty, That in all this Matter St. *Cyprian* did nothing either *Proudly* or *Preſumptuouſly*, is evident from this, That in his Time, and long before his Time, even from the Apoſtles Times, it was not Lawful for Presbyters to Attempt any thing relating to the Church without the Biſhop. *Let Presbyters and Deacons attempt nothing without the Biſhop's Allowance*;

lowance; for 'tis he to whom the Lord's People are committed, and 'tis he that must Account for their Souls[d], is the 39th of the *Canons* called *Apostolical.* And no doubt it was in force in St. *Cyprian*'s time. And this was no greater Power than was assigned him by the *Apostolical Ignatius*, I cannot tell how many times. Take these Testimonies for a Sample. *Let no Man do any thing that belongs to the Church without the Bishop*[e]. *He that honoureth the Bishop, is honoured of God; but he that doth any thing in opposition to the Bishop, serveth the Devil*[f]. *If any Man pretend to be wiser than the Bishop,* (*i. e.* will have Things done against the Bishop's Will,) *he is Corrupted*[g]. *Let us be careful not to resist the Bishop, as we would be subject to God*[h]. *The Spirit hath spoken, Do ye nothing without the Bishop*[hh]. *'Tis necessary that you continue to do nothing without the Bishop*[i].

[d] Οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελεῖτωσαν. Αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος. *Can. Ap.* 39.

[e] Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου τὶ πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. *Ignat. Epist. p.* 6.

[f] Ὁ τιμῶν ἐπίσκοπον ὑπὸ θεοῦ τετίμηται: Ὁ λάθρα ἐπισκόπου τὶ πράσσων τῷ διαβόλῳ λατρεύει. *P.* 7.

[g] Καὶ ἐὰν γνωσθῇ πλέον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἔφθαρται. *P.* 13.

[h] Σπουδάσωμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἵνα ὦμεν θεοῦ ὑποτασσόμενοι. *P.* 20.

[hh] Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων τάδε: Χωρὶς Ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. *P.* 43.

[i] Ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἐστιν ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε ἄνευ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς. *P.* 47.

And now, let any of Common Sense determine, Whether there was Ground, or shadow of Ground, for insinuating that St. *Cyprian* shewed *too much Zeal in this Cause, or attempted to stretch his Power a little too far,* (indeed, it had not been a *little*, but *very much*, nay *monstrously* too far, had those of *Parity* been then the current Principles,) *or was a little too high in this Matter?* But if there was no Ground to say so, if it was contrary to all the then current Principles, and to the common Sentiments of all Catholick Christians, nay, even to the Convictions of all Honest, Orderly, Dutiful, and Conscientious Presbyters, who then lived, to say so: If thus it was, I say, and 'tis hard to prove any Matter of Fact more evidently than I have proved that it was thus; then, I think, it follows by good Consequence, not only that this Author was a little in the wrong to St. *Cyprian*, when he said so; but also,

alſo, that, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, a Biſhop had fairly a *Negative* over his Presbyters, which was the Thing to be demonſtrated. And ſo I proceed to the next Thing propoſed, namely,

III. That all the other Church-Governours within his Diſtrict, Presbyters as well as others, were, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, *ſubject* to the *Biſhop's Authority*, and *obnoxious* to his *Diſcipline*; I do'nt think you very ſharp ſighted, if you have not ſeen this already. Yet that I may give you all reaſonable Satisfaction, I ſhall inſiſt a little further on it. And,

1. This might appear ſufficiently from this one Conſideration, (tho no more could be produced for it,) That, ſtill in the Stile and Language of thoſe Times, the Biſhop was called the *Præpoſitus*, the *Ruler*, the *Governour*, the *Superiour*, of all the Chriſtians within his Diſtrict, *Clergy* as well as *Laity*: And they, without Diſtinction or Exception, were called *His People, his Flock, his Subjects*, &c. This may be ſeen almoſt in every one of his Epiſtles. Thus, *Ep.* 3. he ſays, *That Deacons ought to remember that our Lord choſe his Apoſtles, that is, Biſhops and Governours: But the Apoſtles choſe Deacons to be the Biſhop's and the Churches Miniſters: And therefore a Deacon ought with all Humility to give Satisfaction to the Biſhop, his Superiour* [k]. And *Ep.* 9. He praiſes the *Roman* Clergy for having the *Memory of* Fabianus, *who had been their* Superiour, *in ſo great Honour* [l]. And *Ep.* 13. writing to *Rogatianus* his Presbyter, and the reſt of the Confeſſors, and praiſing God for their Faith and Patience, he ſays, That, *as all Chriſtians were bound to Rejoyce when Chriſt's Flock was illuminated by the Examples of Confeſſors; ſo he himſelf, in a ſpecial manner, as being the Biſhop, ſeeing the Churches Glory was the Ruler's Glory* [m]. And in that famous

[k] *Meminiſſe autem Diaconi debent, quoniam Apoſtolos, i. e. Epiſcopos & Præpoſitos Dominus elegit: Diacnos autem poſt aſcenſum Domini in Cœlos Apoſtoli ſibi conſtituerunt Epiſcoporum ſuo & Eccleſiæ Miniſtros— Et ideo oportet Diaconum de quo ſcribis agere audaciæ ſuæ pœnitentiam & honorem Sacerdotis agnoſcere, & Epiſcopo PRÆPOSITO ſuo pleno humilitate ſatisfacere. Ep.* 3 *p.* 6.

[l] *In quo vobis quoque plurimum gratulor quod ejus memoriam tam celebri & illuſtri teſtimonio proſequamini, ut per vos innotoſcat nobis quod & vobis eſſit curæ PRÆPOSITI memoriam Glorioſum, & nobis quoque fidei ac virtutis præberet Exemplum. Ep.* 9. *p.* 19.

[m] *Nam cum gaudere in hoc omnes fratres oportet, tum in gaudio communi major eſt Epiſcopi portio: Eccleſiæ enim Gloria, PRÆPOSITI Gloria eſt. Ep.* 13.

Paſ-

Paſſage which I have cited already from *Ep.* 16. he complains of it as an unexampled Petulancy, that Presbyters ſhould ſo contemn the Biſhop, *their Superiour* [n]. And in another place, *We Biſhops, who have the Chief Power in the Church* [o]. And Ep. 62. *I who, by the Divine Mercy, Govern the Church, have ſent to you* [Januarius, Maximus, Proculus,] *&c.* 100000 *Seſterces, as the Charitable Contributions of my Clergy and People* [p]. And *Ep.* 66. Hence ſpring Hereſies and Schiſms, *&c. That the Biſhop who is one, and is ſet over the Church,* is Contemned, *&c.* [q] Such was the Dialect of thoſe Times, I ſay, and thus Biſhops were called *Rulers, Governours, Superiours,* &c. and that in regard of all within their Diſtricts, making no Diſcrimination betwixt Clergy-men and Laicks; and not only ſo, but more particularly,

[n] *Vide ſupra,* p.

[o] *Quam unitatem firmiter tenere & vindicare debemus, maxime Epiſcopi qui in Eccleſia* PRÆSIDEMUS. *De Unit. Eccl.* p. 108.

[p] *Miſimus autem ſeſtertium centum millia nummum, quæ iſtic in Eccleſia cui Domini indulgentia* PRÆSUMUS, *Cleri & Plebis apud nos conſiſtentis collatione collecta ſunt. Ep.* 62. p. 147.

[q] *Inde enim Schiſmata & Hæreſes obortæ ſunt & Oriuntur, dum Epiſcopus qui unus eſt & Eccleſiæ* PRÆEST, *ſuperba quorundam præſumptione contemnitur*—— *Ep.* 66. p. 167.

2. It was as common in that Dialect, to call the Clergy The BISHOP'S CLERGY. Thus for Example, Ep. 14. *It was my Wiſh, that I might have ſaluted all my Clergy ſafe and ſound,* &c. [r] *My Presbyters and Deacons ought to have taught you,* &c. [s] *Because I cannot ſend Letters but by Clergy-men, and I know that many of mine are abſent* [t]. Numidicus *was preſerved alive by God, that he might joyn him to my Clergy* — [u] Urbanus *and* Sidonius *came to my Presbyters* —[v]. *If any of my Preſbyters or Deacons ſhall turn precipitant* —[vv] *I have ſent you Copies of the Letters which I wrote to my Clergy and People concerning* Feliciſſimus *and his* Presbytery —[x]. And, as I obſerved before, when *Maximus* a Presbyter, and *Urbanus,* &c. returned

[r] *Optaveram quidem F. C. ut Univerſum clerum* NOSTRUM *integrum & incolumem meis literis ſalutarem. Ep.* 14. p. 31.

[s] *Vos quidem noſtri Presbyteri & Diaconi monere debuerant* —— *Ep.* 17. p. 39.

[t] *Et quoniam oportuit me per Clericos ſcribere, ſcio autem* NOSTROS *pluriſmos abeſſe*—— *Ep.* 29. p. 55.

[u] — *Ut eum clero* NOSTRO *Dominus adjungeret, & deſolatam per Lapſum quorundam* PRESBYTERII NOSTRI *copiam Glorioſis Sacerdotibus adornaret. Ep.* 40. p. 79.

[v] Urbanus & Sidonius *Confeſſores ad Presbyteros* NOSTROS *venerunt. Ep.* 49. p. 92.

[vv] *Interea ſi quis immoderatus & præceps, ſive de* NOSTRIS *Presbyteris vel Diaconis*—— *Ep.* 34. p. 68.

[x] —— *Ad te, Exempla literarum* — *miſeram, quæ de eodem* Feliciſſimo *& de Presbyterio ejuſdem ad clerum iſtic* NOSTRUM —— *ſcripſeram. Ep.* 45. p. 88.

from the *Novatian Schism* to *Cornelius*'s Communion, *We are Reconciled* (say they to *Cyprian*) *to Cornelius* OUR BISHOP, *and to all the Clergy*[y].

[y] —— *Cum Cornelio Episcopo* NOSTRO *pariter & cum universo clero pacem fecisse* —— *Ep.* 53. *p.* 98.

Such was the Language of those Times. Now I say, by what Propriety of Speech could a Bishop have been called *Præpositus*, Superiour to his Clergy? Could they have been called HIS Clergy? Could he have been said to have been *Their* Bishop? *Their* Ruler? *Their* Governour? By what Rule of either Grammar or Rhetorick, Logick or Politick, could he have been said to have been *set over* them, or *they* to have been *his Subjects* or Inferiours, if he had no *Power* nor *Jurisdiction* over them? If they were not *Subjected* to his *Authority*, nor *Obnoxious* to his *Discipline*? But let all this pass for meer Prolusion if you will. I am not pinch'd for want of Arguments. For,

3. The three great Principles which I proved so fully before, *viz.* That a Bishop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, was the *Principle of Unity* to the Church which he Govern'd; that he had a *Supreme Power* in it; and that by the Principles which then prevailed, he was the *same* in the *Christian Church*, which the *High-Priest* was in the *Jewish*; and the last Thing I proved also, *viz.* That he had a *Negative* over his Presbyters; Each of these is demonstration for the present *Conclusion*, and you need not *Artificial*; *Natural Logick* is enough to let you see the *Consequences*. Indeed,

4. We find *Cyprian* all along both Reasoning and Practising to this purpose. Thus, he told Bishop *Rogatianus*, Ep. 3. That the Case was plain between him and his Deacon: *He might punish him*, forthwith, *by his Episcopal Power, and his Cathedral Authority*[z]: *He might make him sensible of his Episcopal Honour*[a]: *He might Exert the Power of his Honour against him, either by Deposing, or by Excommunicating him*[b]: Nay, *He might*

[z] *Et tu quidem honorifice circa nos, & pro solita tua humilitate fecisti, ut malles de eo Conqueri cum pro* Episcopatus vigore & Cathedræ Auctoritate *haberes potestatem, qua posses de illo statim vindicari. Ep.* 3. *p.* 5.

[a] *Oportet Diaconum, agere audaciæ suæ pœnitentiam, &* honorem *Sacerdotis agnoscere* ——

[b] *Quod si ultra te Contumeliis suis exacerbaverit & provocaverit, fungeris circa eum* potestate honoris tui, *ut eum vel* DEPONAS *vel* ABSTINEAS.

Ex-

Excommunicate all ſuch as ſhould Rebel againſt him[c]: For all theſe Cenſures, his *Sovereign Authority* was competent[d].

[c] *Et ſi qui alii tales extiterint, & contra Sacerdotem Dei fecerint, vel* COERCERE *poterit, vel* ABSTINERE.

[d] —— *SACERDOTALI LICENTIA* —— *Ibid. p.* 6, 7.

Thus he praiſes *Pomponius*, another Biſhop, for Excommunicating another Scandalous Deacon, *Ep.* 4. *p.* 9. And did not he himſelf Suſpend *Philumenus* and *Fortunatus*, two Subdeacons, and *Favorinus* an Acolyth, from their Livings? As we learn from his 34th Epiſtle.

But you may ſay, Theſe Inſtances extend no further than to Deacons, or more inferiour Clergy-men; but, What is this to Presbyters? Why? Sir, indeed, the Inſtances are pat and home; and you muſt acknowledge ſo much, if you conſider, that, by the Principles of thoſe Times, there was no Diſparity between Presbyters and Inferiour Orders in this reſpect: But the Biſhop's Power extended equally to all; juſt as a King can cenſure his Chancellor, as well as a Sub-Collector of his Cuſtoms; a Juſtice-General, as well as a Juſtice of Peace: Nothing clearer from the above-mentioned Principles. But that I may leave you no imaginable Scruple, I ſhall even account to you about Presbyters alſo.

5. Then, I have told you already, how ſome of the *Carthaginian* Presbyters conſpired againſt St. *Cyprian*, and uſed their utmoſt Arts to hinder his Preferment to the Biſhoprick. Now, if we may believe either himſelf, or *Pontius* in his Life, whatever it was they did on that Occaſion, he might have puniſh'd them for it; puniſh'd them not only with Depoſition, but with Excommunication, had he pleaſed. Take firſt his own Account in *Ep.* 43. there he tells his People, That through the Malignity and Perfidiouſneſs of ſome of his Presbyters, he durſt not adventure to return to *Carthage* ſo ſoon as he would: And he deſcribes thoſe Presbyters thus; That being mindful of their Conſpiracy, and retaining their old Grudges againſt his Promotion, they reinforced their ancient Machinations, and renewed their Attempts for Undermining him, by ſiding with *Felicisſimus* in his Schiſm: And then he proceeds thus; I neither willed nor wiſhed their Puniſhment

for their Oppoſition to my Promotion; yea, I Pardon'd them, and kept my Peace: And yet, now, they have ſuffered Condign Puniſhment: Thô I did not Excommunicate them then, their own Guilty Conſciences have done it now: They have Excommunicated themſelves, *&c.*[s] Take it next from *Pontius* his Deacon, *Thô I am unwilling*, ſays he, *yet I muſt ſpeak it out*: Some reſiſted his Promotion, but how Gently, how Patiently, how Generouſly, how Mercifully, did he forgive them? Did he not thereafter admit them to his moſt intimate Friendſhip and Familiarity, to the Aſtoniſhment of many? Indeed, he therein ſhewed a Miracle of Clemency[t]. Lay theſe two Accounts together, and then tell me, if theſe Presbyters were not Obnoxious to his Diſcipline? If his Power over them might not have extended to their very Excommunication, for their old Tricks againſt him, had he been willing to have put it in Execution? But this is not all. For,

[s] *Hoc enim quorundam Presbyterorum malignitas & perfidia perfecit, ne ad vos ante diem Paſchæ venire licuiſſet: Dum Conjurationis ſuæ memores, & antiqua illa contra* Epiſcopatum *meum —— venena retinentes, inſtaurant veterem contra nos impugnationem ſuam, & Sacrilegas Machinationes inſidiis ſolitis denuo revocant. Et quidem de Dei providentia nobis hoc nec volentibus, nec optantibus, imo & ignoſcentibus, & tacentibus, pœnas quas meruerant rependerunt, ut a nobis non eſſent, ultro ſe ejecerint; ipſi in ſe, pro Conſcientia ſua, ſententiam darent; —— Conjurati & Sceleſti de Eccleſia ſponte ſe pellerent.* Ep. 43. p. 81, 82.

[t] *Invitus dico, ſed dicam neceſſe eſt; Quidam illi reſtiterunt, etiam ut vincerat. Quibus tamen quanta lenitate, quam patienter, quam benevolenter indulſit, quam Clementer ignovit, amiciſſimos eos poſtmodum & inter neceſſarios computans, mirantibus multis? Cui enim poſſit non eſſe Miraculo, tam memorioſæ mentis oblivio?* Pont. in Vita Cyp. p. 3, 4.

Have I not accounted already, How, when they firſt Engaged in the Controverſie concerning the Lapſed, he threaten'd them, that if they ſhould continue to Abſolve and Reconcile any more of them without his Allowance, he would Suſpend them from their Office, and inflict ſeverer Cenſures on them when he ſhould return to *Carthage?* And have I not juſtified him in this, and made it manifeſt to a Demonſtration, that herein he did not ſtretch his Power too far? That he took not too much on him? Further yet.

When they reſumed their Impudence, and, after a little Interruption, would needs be Abſolving the Lapſed, thô he was then in his Retirement, and by conſequence, had few or none of his Clergy to Conſult with; yet he gave out this plain and peremptory Order, That if any of his Presbyters

or

or Deacons ſhould prove ſo Lawleſs, or Precipitant, as to Communicate with the Lapſed before his Determination in the Matter, and, by conſequence, without his Leave, that they ſhould be forthwith Suſpended from the Communion, and ſhould be more fully Tried and Cenſured when he ſhould return [g]. And then,

[g] *Interea ſi quis immoderatus aut præceps ſive de noſtris Presbyteris vel Diaconibus, ſive de Peregrinis, auſus fuerit ante SENTENTIAM NOSTRAM Communicare cum Lapſis, a Communicatione noſtra arcetur; apud omnes vos cauſam dicturus temeritatis ſuæ, quando in unum, permittente Domino, convenerimus. Ep. 34. p. 68.*

Laſtly, When they proceeded ſo far as to Commence the Schiſm with *Felicíſſimus*; mark it well, He not only gave a Delegation to *Caldonius* and *Herculanus*, two Biſhops; and *Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*, two of his own Presbyters, to Judge and Excommunicate *Felicíſſimus* and his Partiſans, as I have ſhewed already; but he likewiſe Excommunicated the five Presbyters who joyned with him, and all who ſhould adhere to them [h]. And he gave an Account of his Proceedings to all Catholick Biſhops, particularly to *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* [i]; and his Sentence was not only ratified by *Cornelius* and *Felicíſſimus*, and all his Party refuſed his Communion, but they met with the ſame Treatment; St. *Cyprian*'s Sentence was Approved, and Confirmed by all Catholick Churches all the World over [k].

[h] *Si quis autem pœnitentiam agere, & Deo ſatisfacere detrectans, ad Felicíſſimi & ſatellitum ejus partes conceſſerit, & ſe hæreticæ factioni conjunxerit; ſciat ſe poſtea ad Eccleſiam redire & cum Epiſcopis & Plebe Chriſti Communicare non poſſe. Ep. 43. p. 85.*

[i] *Vide Ep. 45. p. 88.*

[k] *Legi literas tuas, F. C.* —— *quibus ſignificaſti*, Felicíſſimum *hoſtem Chriſti* —— *abſtentum & non tantum meâ, ſed plurimorum Co-epiſcoporum ſententiâ condemnatum, & ab illis eſſe rejectum, &c. Ep. 59. p. 126.*

I might eaſily have proved this more fully, but, I think, I have ſaid enough. And now, Sir, lay theſe three Things together, *viz.* That there were ſeveral conſiderable Acts of Church Power peculiar to a Biſhop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, and which thoſe in the Order of Single Presbyters could not meddle with: That a Biſhop, as ſuch, had a Negative over all the Presbyters within his Diſtrict: And, That they were all Subordinate to him, and Obnoxious to his Diſcipline: And then I can refer it to your ſelf to determine, Whether

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a Biſhop, then, was not quite another thing than either Single Presbyter, or Presbyterian Moderator.

Thus, I think, I have ſufficiently defeated our Author's Definition of a Biſhop, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, by giving a fair and juſt Account of him, as he ſtood *related* to his own *particular Church* which he Govern'd. I come now to conſider him as he ſtood *related* to the *Church Catholick*. And here alſo I am very much miſtaken, if I ſhall not find Matter enough for another Demonſtration againſt him. I ſhall endeavour to diſpatch this Point with all poſſible Brevity.

1. Then, by the Principles of the *Cyprianic* Age, all Biſhops were *Collegues*, and made up *One College*. St. *Cyprian* calls them ſo, and ſpeaks of the *Epiſcopal* or *Sacerdotal College* ſo frequently, (no fewer than 6 or 7 times in one Epiſtle, and 4 or 5 times in another[l]) that I need not adduce Teſtimonies. Indeed, being all Men of the ſame Character, the ſame Order, the ſame Dignity; being all of them equally *Supreme*, and *Firſt* in their own Churches; and all ſtanding *Collateral* to one another; they were moſt properly called *Collegues*, and their *Society* a *College*, if we may rely on *A. Gellius* his Skill in the *Latin* Tongue, or rather *Meſſala*'s cited by him[m]. And it is obſervable to this purpoſe, That St. *Cyprian* no where calls *Presbyters* his *Collegues*. He calls none ſo, but *Biſhops*. And the Notion of the *Epiſcopal College* had ſuch an Impreſſion on him, it was ſo Common and Received in thoſe Times, that ſpeaking even of *Schiſmatical Biſhops*, who run one courſe, he calls them a *College* alſo, thô quite different from the True College of *Catholick* and *Orthodox* Biſhops[n]. Now,

[l] *Ep.* 55, & 68.

[m] *Lib.* 13. *c.* 14.

[n] *Privatus Lambeſitanus*

——— *Fortunatum ſibi Pſeudo-Epiſcopum dignum* COLLEGIO SUO *fecit. Ep.* 59. *p.* 132.

2. As the *One Biſhop* was the *Principle of Unity* to a *particular Church*, ſo this *College* of *Biſhops* was the *Principle of Unity* to the *Catholick Church*: And *Jeſus Chriſt* was the *Principle of Unity* to the *College* of *Biſhops*. I hope, not being a *Romaniſt*, you will not require that I ſhould prove the Higheſt Step of this Gradation. All that remains then, is to Explain how the *College* of Biſhops, by the Principles of thoſe Times, was

was the *Principle of Unity* to the *Church Catholick*; or, the One great *Aggregated Body*, conſiſting of all the *particular Churches* all the World over, whereof, their *particular Biſhops* were the *particular Principles of Unity*. Neither needs this be a Laborious Task. For all that's neceſſary for it, is, To ſhew how they were ſo *United* into *One College*, as to make them capable of being juſtly denominated *One Principle of Unity*. Now, they were thus United by the *Great* and *Fundamental Laws* of *One Faith*, and *One Communion*.

That the *One Holy Catholick Faith* is Eſſential in the Conſtitution of the *One Holy Catholick Church*, is, even to this day, a received Principle, I think, amongſt all ſober Chriſtians. But then, I ſay, That the Chriſtians, in St. *Cyprian*'s time, reckoned of the *Laws* of *One Communion* as every whit as forcible and indiſpenſible to the Being of *One Church*, as the *Laws* of *One Faith*. It was a prime, a fundamental *Article* of their *Faith*, That there was but *One Church*; and they could not underſtand how there could be but *One Church*, if there was *more* than *One Communion*. By their Principles and Reaſonings, a *Multiplication* of *Communions* made, unavoidably, a *Multiplication* of *Churches*: And by conſequence, ſeeing there could be but *One True Catholick Church*, there could be likewiſe but *One True Catholick Communion*. All other *Churches* or *Communions* were *Falſe*, *i. e.* not at all *Chriſtian Churches* or *Communions*. Theſe Principles, and ſuitable Reaſonings from them, are ſo frequently and ſo fully inſiſted on in St. *Cyprian*'s Writings, that to Tranſcribe his Teſtimonies to this purpoſe, were almoſt to Tranſcribe his Works. Now from theſe Principles, it follows clearly,

3. That the Grand Concern of the *Epiſcopal College* was, to Preſerve and Maintain this *One Communion*: To Guard againſt all ſuch *Doctrines* as *deſtroyed*, or tended to *deſtroy*, the the *One Holy Catholick Faith*; and all *Schiſms* and *Schiſmatical* Methods which *deſtroyed*, or tended to *deſtroy*, the *Unity* of the *One Church*. Theſe being the Great and Fundamental *Intereſts* of the *One Church*; and they being her *Supreme* Governours, they could not but be chiefly bound by the moſt *Fundamental Laws* of their *Office* to be Conſcientious *Conſervators* of theſe Great and Fundamental *Intereſts*. And indeed, ſo they

they believed themselves to be, as will evidently appear from the following Considerations. And,

1. They look'd upon themselves as bound indispensibly to maintain the Peace, the Unity, the Concord, the Unanimity, the Honour, "(they are all St. *Cyprian's* Words) of the *College* it self. Every *Error*, every *Defect*, every Thing *Disjoynted*, or out of *Tune* in it, tended naturally to endanger the great *Interests*, for the Conservation and Procuration of which it was instituted. For this End,

2. Because every Man, by being Promoted to the *Episcopal Dignity*, was, *Eo ipso*, a *Principle of Unity* to a *particular Church*, and so a Member of the *Episcopal College*; all possible Care was taken, that a fit Person should be promoted, and that the Promotion should be Unquestionable. Therefore, he was not to be Promoted, as I have proved, but where there was an *Unquestionable Vacancy*. Therefore, he was not to be Promoted, if there was any thing *Uncanonical* or Challengeable in his *Baptism*, or his *Confirmation*, or his *Promotion* to any former *Order*, as I have shewn also in the Case of *Novatianus*. Therefore he was Solemnly *Elected* in the *Presence* of the *People*, *That either his Crimes might be detected, or his Merits published; because the People was best acquainted with every Man's Life and Conversation*[o]. Therefore he was to be Solemnly *Ordained* in the *Presence* of the *People* also[p]. And that by two or three Bishops at fewest; (tho an *Ordination* perform'd by *One Bishop* was truly *Valid*:) Commonly there were *more*; all the Bishops of the *Province*.

[o] — *Ut Plebe præsente vel detegantur malorum Crimina vel bonorum merita prædicentur* — *Episcopus deligatur Plebe præsente quæ singulorum vitam plenissime novit, &c. Ep.* 67. *p.* 172.

[p] *Ibid.*

3. Being thus *Canonically* Promoted, his first Work was to send his *Communicatory Letters* to all other Bishops, to give them thereby an Account of his *Canonical Promotion*, his *Orthodoxy* in the *Faith*, his *Fraternal Disposition*, *&c.* Thus, *Cornelius* was no sooner *Ordained* Bishop of *Rome*, than he instantly dispatched his *Communicatory Letters* to St. *Cyprian*[q]. And no doubt, as the Custom was, to all other Bishops; at least, to all *Metropolitans*, by them to be Communicated to the

[q] *Ep.* 45. *p.* 87.

the Bishops within their *Provinces*: I say, to *Metropolitans*, for nothing can be clearer than that there were *Metropolitans* in St. *Cyprian*'s time. He was undoubtedly *One* himself [r], and *Agrippinus*, his Predecessor Bishop of *Carthage*, was *One* long before him. *Spanhemius* himself, our Author's *Diligens Searcher into Antiquity*, acknowledges it [s]. But to return from this Digression. *Novatianus* also, tho' Illegally and Schismatically *Ordained*, found it necessary to send his *Communicatory Letters* to St. *Cyprian*, as if he had been *Ordain'd* Canonically, and in the *Unity* of the *Church* [t]. So also *Fortunatus*, when made a *Schismatical Bishop* at *Carthage*, sent his *Communicatory Letters* to *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* [u]. Indeed, this was never omitted.

[r] De Cypriano Metropolitano, *Vide Ep.* 43. *p.* 82. *Ep.* 44. *p.* 85. *Ep.* 45. *p.* 89. *Ep.* 48. *p.* 91. *Ep.* 55. *p.* 110. *Ep.* 56. *p.* 116. *Vide etiam Conc. Carthag. De* Agrippino, *Ep.* 71. *p.* 196. *Ep.* 73. *p.* 199.

[s] *Metropolitanorum, seu Episcoporum in Urbe Matrice, vel prima sede, sua furrunt, hac ætate, supra reliquos ejusdem Provinciæ jura.* Spanhem. Epit. I say. *ad H.E. N.T. Sæc.* 3. *Sect.* 6. *p.* 117.

[t] *Ep.* 44. *p.* 83.

[u] *Ep.* 59. *p.* 135.

4. If there was no Competition, no Controversie in the Case, the Matter was at an end. The *Promoted* Bishop's *Communicatory Letters* were sufficient, and he was forthwith *faithfully joyned with all his Collegues*, as St. *Cyprian* words it [v]. But if there was any Competitor, any Debate, then the rest of the *College*, before they received him as a *Collegue*, made further *Enquiries*. Sometimes they sent some from the *Neighbourhood* to examine the Matter: Sometimes the *Ordainers* were obliged to Account for the *Person Ordained*, and the whole Procedure of the *Ordination*: Sometimes both Methods were practised. We have a famous Instance of both Methods in one Case; the Case of *Cornelius* and *Novatianus*. *Cornelius*, as I have said, upon his Promotion wrote to St. *Cyprian*: So did *Novatianus*. Here was a *Competition*. *Cyprian* therefore, with his *African Collegues*, sent *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, two Bishops, to *Rome*, that upon the Place it self, where they might have the surest Information, they might enquire into the *Merits* of the *Cause*, and try the *Competition* [w]. And on the other hand, the *Sixteen Bishops*, who *Ordain'd Cornelius*, wrote to St. *Cyprian*, and the rest of the Bishops of *Africa*, and satisfied them upon the whole Que-

[v] *Collegis omnibus fidelibus junctus. Ep.* 59. *p.* 130.

[w] *Ep.* 45.

ſtion, demonſtrating *Cornelius*'s Title, and Condemning *Novatianus* [x]. Such Care was taken, that none ſhould be admitted Unworthily or Uncanonically into the *Epiſcopal College*. But then,

[x] *Et factum eſt Epiſcopus a plurimis Collegis noſtris qui tunc in Urbe* Roma *aderant, qui ad nos literas honorificas & laudabiles, & teſtimonio ſua prædicationis illuſtres, de ejus Ordinatione miſerunt.* Ep. 55. p. 104.

5. There was *equal* Care taken to *purge* him out of the *College* again, if he turned either *Heretical* or *Schiſmatical*: If he kept not cloſe to the *Laws* of *One Faith*, and *One Communion*. If he ſwerv'd from theſe, he was forthwith refuſed the *Communion* of the *whole College*. Therefore, (ſays St. *Cyprian* to *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the Caſe of *Marcianus* Biſhop of *Arles*, who had joyned with *Novatianus*,) *The Corporation of Prieſts*, (the Epiſcopal College) *is Copious, being cemented by the Glue of Mutual Concord, and the Bond of Unity, that if any of the College ſhall turn Heretick, or attempt to divide or waſte the Flock of Chriſt, the reſt may interpoſe, and, as profitable and merciful Shepherds, collect our Lord's Sheep, and reſtore them to the Flock* [y]. And this they were bound to do by the *Fundamental Laws* of *One Church*, and one *Communion*; for, as our Martyr ſubjoyns, *Thô they were many Paſtors, yet they all fed but one Flock* [z]. And therefore all the Biſhops in the World were bound to give the deſolate Chriſtians of Churches, whereof the Biſhops had turned *Heretical* or *Schiſmatical*, *the Comfort of their Aid and Aſſiſtance* [a]. 'Tis true, no Biſhop was *Superiour* to another Biſhop in point of *Power* or *Juriſdiction*, but all ſtood *Collateral*, as I have proved, and ſo no Biſhop as *Superiour* to another, in a *ſtreight Line*, could paſs Sentence on him, as they *might* have done to *Presbyters*. Yet *all* being *United* into *One College*, which *College* was the *Principle of Unity* to the *Church Catholick*, it was neceſſary, as well as natural, that that *College* ſhould be *impower'd* to take care of its own Preſervation, and by conſequence, they could do the *Equivalent* of a formal and authoritative *Depoſition*; they could *refuſe* the *Heretical* or *Schiſmatical* Biſhop their *Communion*, and thereby *exclude* him from the *Epiſcopal College*: And they could oblige all the Chriſtians within his *Diſtrict* to abandon

[y] *Iccirco enim, F. C. copioſum corpus eſt Sacerdotum concordiæ mutuæ glutino, atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut ſi quis ex Collegio noſtro hæreſin facere, & Gregem Chriſti lacerare & vaſtare tentaverit, ſubveniant cæteri, & quaſi Paſtores utiles & miſericordes, oves Dominicas in Gregem colligant.* Ep. 68. p. 178.

[z] *Nam etſi Paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen Gregem paſcimus.* Ibid.

[a] — *Solatium noſtræ epitulationis* — Ibid. p. 177.

don his *Communion*, and *choose* another Bishop, as they valued the invaluable *Priviledges* of the *One Church*, and the *One Communion*. But then,

6. So long as a Bishop, worthily, and legally Promoted, kept the *Faith* and the *Unity* of the *Church*, he was *Treated*, he was *Encouraged*, he was *Consulted*, he was *Corresponded* with; in a word, Every way used as became the *Head* of a *particular Church*, and a *Fellow-Member* of the *College*. All the rest of the *Members* were bound, by the *Fundamental Laws* of the *College*, to *Ratifie* all his *Canonical*, nay, *Equitable Acts* of *Priesthood*, *Government*, and *Discipline*. Whosoever was *Baptized* by himself, or by his Clergy, with his *Allowance* was to be *owned* as a *Baptized Christian*, a True Denison of the Church, and to have the Priviledges of such all the World over. Every Bishop of the Christian Church, living at how great a distance soever, was bound to *Communicate* his *Dutiful Subjects*, duly attested by him; and to *Excommunicate* his *Excommunicates*. Thus, for Instance, *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* rejected *Felicissimus*, and all his *Retainers*; and *Fortunatus*, and all his; and would not grant them his *Communion*, because *Excommunicated* by St. *Cyprian* [b]. And *Cyprian* rejected *Novatianus* and all his Party, because not in *Communion* with *Cornelius* [c]. In short, By the *Laws* of the *College*, he that was Injurious, Undutiful, or Disobedient to *his Bishop*, was *such* to all the *Bishops* on Earth: He that set up an *Altar* against his *Bishop's Altar*, set up his *Altar* against all the *Altars* of the *whole College*: If a Bishop *Deposed* or *Excommunicated* any of his *Presbyters* or *Deacons*, it was not lawful for any other Bishop to *Receive* him, nor to *Absolve* him: He was still to be reserved for that, to his *own Bishop*, so long as he lived. He that was *Reconciled* to his *Bishop*, (whether he was of the *Clergy* or *Laity*,) and *Restored* by him to the *Peace* of the Church, was thereby *Restored* to the *Peace* of all *other Churches*, and by consequence, of the *Church Catholick*. And of this we have a remarkable Instance in St. *Cyprian's* time. *Therapius* Bishop of *Bulla*, in the *Proconsular* Province of *Africa*, Absolved *Victor*, who had been a *Presbyter*, but had fallen, in time of Persecution, Prematurely and Uncanonically: And yet, by a *Synod* of *Sixty six* Bishops, whereof *Cyprian* was One, the *Absolution*

[b] *Ep.* 59. *p.* 126.

[c] *Ep.* 44.

was *Ratified*, and *Victor* was allowed their *Communion*; as we learn from their *Synodical Epistle* [a]. So Eminent and Considerable was a Bishop then, as he stood related to the Catholick Church. Let me only add one Thing more in pursuance of his Dignity, as to this Relation; and that is,

[a] —— *Librato apud nos, diu, Consilio, satis fuit Objurgare* Therapium *Collegam nostrum, quod temere hoc fecerit* —— *pacem tamen quomodocunque a Sacerdote Dei semel datam, non putavimus auferendam, ac per hoc* Victori *communicativum sibi concessam usurpare permisimus. Ep. 64. p. 158.*

7. That so long as a Bishop continued a *sound* Member of the *College*, all Informatory, Consultatory, Recommendatory, Communicatory, Congratulatory, Apologetick, Testimonial; in a word, all Letters concerning the Peace, the Unity, the Government, the Discipline of the *Church*; or the Concord, the Correspondence, the Harmony, the Honour, the Hazards, or any other considerable Interest of the *College*, were directed *to* him, or received *from* him, as having the *Supreme* Power of the *Church* which he *Govern'd*.

All the great Concerns of both the *Catholick Church*, and the *Episcopal College*, were, in these Times, transacted by *Letters*. There was no possibility of *General Councils* then: All that could be done, was either to meet in *Provincial Synods*, upon great Emergencies; or, if that could not be neither, to transact Matters, and bring them to a *General Determination*, by *particular Letters* from *Bishop* to *Bishop*.

Provincial Synods were ordinarily kept twice a Year; and by them, in the ordinary Course, all Matters of Moment were Determined; and so by the Reciprocation of Synodical Letters, Matters came sometimes to such a General Agreement and Determination, as, in the Result, was fully Equivalent to the *Definition* of a *General Council*. We have several Instances of such Transactions by *Provincial Synods*. Thus in the Grand Case of the *Lapsed*, in the time of the *Decian Persecution*, the Matter was so managed by *Provincial Synods* in *Africa*, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *&c.* that at last, as St. *Cyprian* tells us, it was brought to this *General Conclusion*, That the *Lapsed should complete their Terms of Penance*, and *should not be restored to the Peace of the Church before the Time* ap-

appointed by the Canons, unless it was in the case of Deadly Sickness[e]. Thus, without doubt, also that considerable Canon mentioned by St. Cyprian in the *Synodical Epistle*, which is the 67th in Number, amongst his Epistles, *viz.* *That the Lapsed, however they might be restor'd to the Communion of the Church, should never be received into Holy Orders*[f]. And that other Canon mentioned by him also, *That no Clergy-man should be Tutor to Minors*[g]. Thus also, long before St. Cyprian, the great Controversie concerning the Observation of *Easter*, was managed in many *Synods*, as *Eusebius* tells us[h]. And a few Years after his Martyrdom, the Case of *Paulus Samosatenus*[i]. These Instances are only for a Sample.

When *Provincial Synods* could not be kept, or emergent Matters of Consequence could not be conveniently determin'd in them, then Recourse was had to the only remaining Method, *viz.* *particular Letters* from *Bishop* to *Bishop*. And to make this Method both sure and effectual, all possible Pains was taken. It was necessary that each *Bishop* should *sign* his *Letter*, and send it, not by every *common Carrier*, but by a *Clergy-man*[k]. In short, They had such Marks, that it was not *easie*, if *possible*, to Counterfeit them. And the Bishop who received it was bound by the *Laws* of the *College* to transmit it, for his Share, to the rest of the Members. And so it went through, and the *whole College* was acquainted with the Accident, the Case, the Controversie, whatever it was that had Emerged, we have many Instances and Evidences of this Method and Diligence in St. *Cyprian*'s Writings. Thus, *e. g.* When *Caldonius* writes to *Cyprian* concerning some *Lapsed* within his District, *Cyprian* returns him an Answer, telling him, He had written his Mind to that purpose already, and so sends him Copies of five Epistles concerning the Case, requiring him to *transmit them to as many Bishops as he could*; adding this as the Reason, *That One Course, One Resolution, might be kept by all the College*[l]. And so we find, that the Letters written by him about that Controversie were transmitted from hand to hand, till they were dispersed all

[e] *Ep* 55. *p.* 102, 103.

[f] *Ep.* 67. *p.* 174.

[g] *Ep.* 1. *p.* 1.

[h] *Vide* Euseb. *H. E. l.* 5. *c.* 23. *ad c.* 28.

[i] Euseb. *l.* 7. *c.* 30.

[k] *Et quoniam oportuit me per Clericos scribere* —— *Ep.* 29. *p.* 55.

[l] *Librum tibi cum Epistolis numero quinque misi* —— *Quæ Epistola jam plurimis Collegis nostris missæ placuerunt, & rescripserunt sibi quoque ubi sum in eadem Consilio secundum Catholicam fidem stare; quod ipsum etiam tu ad Collegas nostros, quos poteris transmitte; ut apud omnes unus Animus, & una Consentio secundum Domini præcepta teneatur. Ep.* 25. *p.* 50.

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[m] *Ep.* 55. *p.* 102. the World over[m]. Thus, I ſay, ſometimes the greateſt Affairs of the Church were managed: And, 'tis plain, this Method was every way *Equivalent*, if not *Preferable*, to a *General Council*: So that the *Chriſtian Church* might have ſtill *ſubſiſted*, and its *Unity* been *provided* for, and preſerved in all Ages, without ſuch *Councils*, as it was, effectually, during the *Firſt Three Centuries*. Now, that which I am principally concern'd for in all this Matter, is,

That all theſe *Circular Letters*, of whatſoever Nature, relating either to the great Intereſts of the *Catholick Church*, or of the *Epiſcopal College*, were regularly directed only to the *Biſhops*, as being the *Heads*, and *Principles of Unity* to their reſpective Churches, as well as written and ſent by thoſe of the ſame *Order*. And we have a notable Account of this in St. *Cyprian*'s 48th Epiſtle directed to *Cornelius*; for there we learn, That the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church of *Adrumetum*, having received *Cornelius*'s Communicatory Letters, directed to *Polycarpus* their Biſhop; and, ſeeing their Biſhop was abſent, finding it neceſſary that they ſhould return an Anſwer, in his Name, as having his preſumed Allowance for it, they wrote to *Cornelius* in the common Form, acknowledging him as *Biſhop* of *Rome*, and ſubjoyning *Polycarpus* his *Name* to the *Letter*: A clear Evidence, That where there was a *Biſhop*, it behoved all the *Letters* that concerned the publick State of the Church to be *ſubſcribed* by him, no *other Name* but *his* could give them Force, and make them Current. Well! but there was one Thing amiſs: St. *Cyprian*, and the reſt of the *African* Biſhops having Intelligence of the Competition that was at *Rome* between *Cornelius* and *Novatianus*, and being unwilling to do any thing raſhly, had determined to continue to write only to the *Roman* Presbyters and Deacons, as before, during the Vacancy; till *Cornelius* his *Title* ſhould be fully *cleared* to them. This the Clergy of *Adrumetum* were ignorant of when they wrote the abovementioned Letter. And being afterwards told it by *Cyprian* and *Liberalis*, they directed their *next Letter* not for *Cornelius*, but for the *Roman* Presbyters and Deacons. Hereat *Cornelius* was not a little ſtumbled, and, according to the then current Principles, interpreting it to be a *diſowning* of him as *Biſhop* of *Rome*, he wrote a Letter of Complaint to *Cyprian* about it,

it, who was then *Metropolitan* of that *Province*. In Anſwer to which, our Holy Martyr wrote a full Apology to him, ſhewing him what was true Matter of Fact: Upon what Reaſons the Biſhops of *Africa* had taken the aforeſaid Reſolution: How it was in conſequence of that Reſolution, that the Clergy of *Adrumetum* had changed their Direction: And how, by the whole Method, nothing was leſs intended than to *diſown* him as Biſhop of *Rome*, or Invalidate his *Title*. And was there not here as clear an Evidence, that *Regularly*, and in the *current* Form, all *Letters* were *directed* to the *Biſhop*? Shall I give you another Hiſtory to clear this Matter further? When *Maximus* and *Nicoſtratus* retaining to *Novatianus*, and ſo ſeparating from *Cornelius*, did thereby cut themſelves off from the *Communion* of the Church; *Cyprian* wrote to them, as well he might, conſidering that his Deſign was to Reconcile them to their True Biſhop *Cornelius*. But how did he write? Why? ſo, as that his *Letter* ſhould not be delivered till *Cornelius* ſhould ſee it, and judge whether it was proper to deliver it[n]. Such a ſpecial regard was then paid to the *Biſhop* of a *Church*, as being *Supreme* in it, and the *Principle of Unity* to it.

[n] *Ep.* 47.

If all this doth not ſatisfie you, then liſten a little further, and reſiſt this Evidence if ye can: Becauſe, by the *Fundamental Principles* of *One Faith*, and *One Communion*, every *Heretical* and *Schiſmatical Biſhop* was, *ipſo facto*, out of the Church; and all who *retain'd* or adhered to him, whether *Biſhops*, *Clergy*, or *Laicks*, did run the ſame Riſque with him: Therefore, ſo ſoon as any Biſhop turned *Heretick* or *Schiſmatick*, the Catholick Biſhops of the *Province*, eſpecially the *Metropolitans*, formed *Liſts* of all the *True*, *Orthodox*, and *Catholick Biſhops*, within their reſpective *Provinces*, and ſent them to other *Metropolitans*: And ſo they were tranſmitted all the World over. That their *Communicatory Letters*, and theirs *only*, might be received, and their *Communion*, and theirs *only*, might be allowed; and that all *Heretical* or *Schiſmatical*, or *Retainers* to Heretical or Schiſmatical *Biſhops*, might be rejected, and their Communion refuſed. And for this we have two notable Teſtimonies from St. *Cyprian*, the one is in his 59th Epiſtle directed to *Cornelius*, where he tells him, That upon *Fortunatus* his ſtarting out of the Church, and pretending to be Bi-

Bishop of *Carthage*, *He had sent him the Names of all the Bishops in* Africa, *who Govern'd their Churches in Soundness and Integrity*, and that it was done by *common Advice*: But to what purpose? *That you and all my Collegues may readily know to whom you may send, and from whom you may receive Communicatory Letters* [o]. The other Testimony is in *Ep.* 68. where *Cyprian* having given his Sentiments fully concerning *Marcianus*; that he had forfeited his Dignity; and that it was necessary, that another should be substituted in his room, *&c.* requires *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome* to give himself, and the rest of the Bishops of *Africa*, a distinct Account of the Person that should be Surrogated in *Marcianus* his Place, *That we may know*, says he, *to whom we may direct our Brethren, and write our Letters* [p].

o ——— *Et miserim tibi proxime nomina Episcoporum istic constitutorum qui integri & sani in Ecclesia Catholica fratribus præsunt. Quod utique ideo de omnium nostrorum Consilio placuit scribere; ut erroris diluendi ——— compendium fieret, & scires tu & Collegæ nostri*, quibus scribere, & literas mutuo a quibus vos accipere *oporteret. Ep.* 59. *p.* 132.

p *Significa plane nobis quis in locum* Marciani Arelate *fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, &* cui scribere debeamus. *Ep.* 68. *p.* 179.

I have only given you a Taste of the Methods and Expedients which were put in Practice in those Times, for preserving the *Unity*, the *One Communion* of the *One Catholick Church*; and how nicely and accurately it was provided for, by the *Incorporation* of all *Bishops* into *One College*; of all *particular Principles of Unity* of *particular Churches*, into *one Aggregated Principle of Unity*, proportioned to the Extent of all those Churches in their *Aggregation*: And by the mutual Support of all *Bishops* one towards another. It had been easie to have collected more Particulars, as well as to have insisted more largely on these I have collected: But from the small Collection I have made, I think I have laid Foundation enough for another Demonstration against our Author's Notion of a Bishop in St. *Cyprian*'s time. For,

How could either *Single Presbyter*, or *Presbyterian Moderator*, taking the Terms in the Presbyterian Sense, have born such a *Part*, in relation to the *Unity* of the *Catholick Church*, and the Preservation of *One Communion*? Besides, that the *College* of Bishops, in those Times, is still considered and insisted on, as consisting of Church Governours notoriously distinguished from *Presbyters*: Besides, that in all St. *Cyprian*'s Wri-

Writings, or in any Monument of those Times, you shall never, so much as once, find a *Bishop* calling a *Presbyter* his *Colleague*. Besides, that we have not the least Vestige of any such stated, ordinary current Office, in any Record of those Times, as that of a *meer Presbyterian Moderator*: Besides these Things, I say,

How had it been consistent with the Principles or Analogies, the Scheme or Plot of Presbyterian *Parity*, to have committed to any *single Presbyter, Moderator*, or other, the bearing of such a Part, as that *He*, and *He alone*, of God knows how many, should have been Constituted a *Member* of a *College*, which *College*, and which *alone*, had the *Supreme Power* of Preserving the Faith, and the Unity, and managing all the Affairs of the Church Catholick? As that all his *Admissions* into the Church, his *Excisions* from the Church; his *Extrusions* out of the Church, his *Suspensions*, his *Absolutions*, his *Excommunications*, his *Imputations* of *Penances*, his *Absolutions*, his *Ordinations*, his *Degradations*, his *Dispensations*; in a word, all his *Acts* of Government and Discipline, within his own *District*, and *his alone*, should have had Authority, and been deemed Valid, and merited a Ratification all the World over? As that whosoever, *Presbyter* or *other*, within such a District, in which there might have been many *Decads* of *Presbyters*, was *Disobedient* to him, or *Spoke* it with him, or *Rebelled* against him, should have been reputed Disobedient to, and Rebellious against, the *whole College* of the *Supreme* Governours of the *Church Catholick*? As that *raising* an *Altar* against his *Altar*, and his *only*, should have been deem'd *Raising* an *Altar* against all *Catholick Christian Altars*? As that from *him*, and from *him only*, in the regular Course, all Communicatory, Informatory, Consolatory; in shore, all *Letters* concerning the Publick Affairs of the Catholick Church, or the Sacred *College* that Ruled the Catholick Church, should have been *Received*? As that *to him*, and *to him alone*, all such *Letters* have been *directed*? As that by the *Circulation* and *Reciprocation* of Letters betwixt *him* and *his Colleagues*, and their General Agreement upon any Thing, by that *Circulation* and *Reciprocation*, Laws should have been given to the whole Catholick Church, *Canons*, as Binding and Obligatory as the Supreme Ecclesiastical Power on Earth could make them?

How could one raised to such a Post, I say, have been no other than a *Single Presbyter*, or a *Presbyterian Moderator*? Doth not his very bearing such a *Part*, his having such a *Trust*, his being Cloath'd with such an *Eminence*, argue him Demonstratively to have been something *Osher*, something *Greater*, something *Higher* and more *Honourable* than *either*?

Thus I have considered a *Bishop* in St. *Cyprian*'s time, as he stood related to his own Particular, and to the Church Catholick; and, in both respects, have discovered a vast Discrepance betwixt him, as he was really, and our Author's Notion or Definition of him. Let me only add one Consideration more; and that is,

What Character he bore, what Figure he made, in the *Eye* of those who were *without*; of the *Heathen* World, especially the *Roman* Emperours and Magistrates. And here I need not be at much Pains; the Thing is Obvious: The Christian Bishops, as being the *Chief Rulers*, the *Supreme* Governours, the *Heads* of their respective Churches, were the *Chief Butts* of all the Heathen *Rage* and *Malice*. Take these few of many Evidences.

After St *Cyprian* had retired from *Carthage*, in the time of the *Decian* Persecution, he wrote to his Presbyters and Deacons, and told them how earnest he was to return to the City, but Prudence would not let him. When he considered the Publick Peace of the Church, and how much he, *as Bishop*, was concerned to Provide for it, and for the Quiet and Safety of the Brethren, he found it necessary for him, tho' with mighty Grief, to forbear returning for a time, *lest HIS PRESENCE should provoke the Rage and Fury of the Gentiles*. So he wrote, I say, in his 7th Epistle[q]. And in the 12th, directed also to his Presbyters and Deacons, *I wish*, says he, *that my Station and Character, would allow me to be present with you*[r]. In his 20th Epistle directed for the *Roman* Presbyters and Deacons, he Apologizes for his Retirement after this manner. *In compliance with our Lord's Commands*, (pointing, no doubt, at *Matth.* 10. 23.) *so soon as the Persecution began, and the Rabble, with mighty Clamour, pursued*

[q] *Oportet nos tamen pati communi consulere, & interdum desse vobis, ut PRÆSENTIA NOSTRI INVIDIAM ET VIOLENTIAM GENTILIUM PROVOCET.* Ep. 7. p. 14.

[r] *Atque utinam LOCI & GRADUS mei conditio permitteret, ut IPSE PRÆSENS esse possem.* Ep. 12. p. 27.

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me, I retired for a time, not so much to save my self, as for the publick Quiet of the Church; and that the Tumult which was already kindled, might not be the more inflam'd by MY OBSTINATE PRESENCE[s]. And to the same purpose, he Apologizes to his own People for his so long Absence, *Ep.* 43. Thô he had been long away, yet he durst not return, because of the Threats and Snares of these perfidious Men, (*Felicissimus*, and his Fellow-Schismaticks,) *Lest*, says he, *upon MY COMING, there should be a greater Uproar, and, while as a Bishop ought, in all Things, to provide for Peace and Tranquillity, I should seem to have added Fewel to the Sedition, and to have imbittered the Persecution*[t].

[s] *Nam sicut Domini mandata instruunt, ita statim turbationis impetu primo, cum ME clamore violento frequenter populus flagitasset, non tam meam salutem quam quietem fratrum publicam cogitans, interim secessi ne per INVERECUNDAM PRÆSENTIAM NOSTRAM, seditio quæ taperat, plus provocaretur. Ep.* 20. *p.* 42.

[t] *Accessit huic tabescenti animo nostro Dolor major, quod in tanta sollicitudine, ac necessitate, occurrere ad vos IPSE non possum; dum per minas & per insidias perfidorum Cavemus, ne ADVENIENTIBUS NOBIS Tumultus illic major oriatur; & cum pacis & tranquillitatis EPISCOPUS Providere in omnibus debeat, IPSE materiam Seditioni dedisse, & Persecutionem exacerbasse videatur. Ep.* 43. *p.* 83.

Here, I think, is clear Demonstration of the *Episcopal Eminence* in the *Eye* of the *Heathen Persecutors*: It was a Grief, a Burden, a Torment, a very Crucifixion to St. *Cyprian*'s Soul, to be separated from his Flock, as himself words it[u]. But he was bound by the Laws of his EPSICOPAL PROVIDENCE, by all means, to study the Peace, the Quiet, the Tranquillity of the Church, and his LOCUS and GRADUS, his *Station* and *Dignity*, were so *Conspicuous* and *Eminent*, that HIS PRESENCE would have *provoked* the *Gentiles*, and *increased* the *Persecution*, and therefore he durst not return. And yet this is not all. Consider if what follows is not yet clearer.

[u] *Ep.* 43. *p.* 83.

In his 14th Epistle written to his Presbyters and Deacons, he tells them, That tho he had strong and pressing Reasons to hasten his return, yet he found it more expedient and useful for the publick Peace to continue longer in his Lurking Places; and *Tertullus*, one whom they knew, and could not but value, had seriously advised him to be *Calm* and *Cautious*, *and not to commit himself rashly to the publick View, especially of that Place where he had been so often lain in wait, and made search for*; and therefore he *Exhorts and Commands them*, (his Presbyters

and Deacons,) *That* THEY, *whose* PRESENCE *was neither so* INVIDIOUS, *nor by far so* DANGEROUS, *might perform the parts of Vicars to him*[v]. Here, I think, we have a *full* Evidence of a *fair* Discrimination was made betwixt *him* and *his Presbyters* by the *Heathen Persecutors*. And not only so; but,

[v] —— *a* Tertullo —— *qui etiam hujus Consilii auctor fuit, ut exutus & exoneratus existerem, ne me in conspectum publicum, & maxime ejus loci ubi vestis flagitatus & quæsitus fuissem, temere committerem. Fratres ergo Dilectissimi & Religione vestra, quam satis novi, dis literis & Plebem ut* VOS *quorum nobiscum ille* INVIDIOSA, *& non adeo* PERICULOSA PRÆSENTIA *est*, VICE MEA *fungamini, &c.* Ep. 14. p. 31.

He tells *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, Ep. 59. That he was *Proscribed* in the Days of the *Decian* Persecution, and that by *Name*, as *Bishop of the Christians* in *Carthage*, and that he was destin'd for the Lions, *&c.*[w] And again, Ep. 66. he tells *Florentius Pupianus*, That his *Proscription* ran in this *Form*: *If any Man holds or possesses any of the Goods of* CÆCILIUS CYPRIANUS BISHOP OF THE CHRISTIANS, *&c.* And thereby makes an Argument, that it was Unaccountable in *Florentius* not to own him as a *Bishop*[x]. And *Pontius* his Deacon tells us, That, when he at last commenced Martyr in the *Valerian* Persecution, in the very Sentence that was given out against him, he was called *SECTÆ SIGNIFER*, the *Ring-leader*, the *Head*, the *Chiefain* of the *Sect* of the *Christians* in *Carthage*[y]. Would you have yet more? Then,

[w] —— *in tempestate proscriptus, applicito & adjuncto* EPISCOPATUS SUI NOMINE, *toties ad Leonem petitus, &c.* Ep. 59. p. 130.

[x] *Si quis tenet vel possidet de bonis Cæcilii Cypriani Episcopi Christianorum: Ut etiam qui non credebant Deo Episcopum vos fuisse, vel Diabolo credebant Episcopum proscribenti.* Ep. 66. p. 166.

[y] *Vide* Pont. *in vita* Cyp. p. 9, 10.

Take it, not about St. *Cyprian*'s *Person*, for I think we have enough of him already, but in St. *Cyprian*'s *Words*: You have them *Ep.* 55. there he tells *Antonianus*, That the Emperour *Decius* (from a Sense, no doubt, that, as *Heads* of their respective Churches, they were, under God, the great Supporters and Promoters of our Most Holy Faith,) had such a *Spite*, such a *Pique*, at the *Christian Bishops*, that for Example, *He could have heard with greater Patience and Composure, that another emulous Prince should have Rivall'd it with him for*

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the Roman Empire, than that a Bishop should have been settled in the City of Rome[a]. And doth not Eusebius tell us, That the Emperour Maximinus, in that Persecution of which he was the Author, some 22 or 23 Years before St. Cyprian's Martyrdom, Ordered, that the Ἀρχοντες, the chief Governours of the Christian Churches, should only be put to Death, as being the Authors of the Propagation of the Gospel[b]? So Eminent, in those Times, was the Episcopal Character; such a Sense had the very Heathens of their being Bishops indeed: so much, as Bishops, were they Obnoxious to the Fury and Malice of Persecutors, and so much Reason had St. Cyprian to say, That it mattered not, whence [whether from Heathens without, or Schismaticks within, if they may be called any way within,] Terrors or Perils threatned a Bishop, seeing, as such, he was still Obnoxious to Terrors or Perils[b]. Meaning, that, in those Times, Bishops, as Bishops, were still exposed to the first burst of all Persecutions. As, on the other hand, when the Human Gallienus, who succeeded to Valerianus, stop'd the Persecution which his Predecessor had begun, he began his Imperial Rescript, thus, The Emperour Publius Licinius Gallienus, &c. To Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and the rest of the BISHOPS, &c. and so went on, telling them, How he had ordered his Edict of Grace and Clemency to be Published all the World over; allowing them to rely upon it, as full Security against all Molestation for the future[c]. Thus, I say, that Heathen Emperour stopping the Current of a fierce Persecution, and designing Favour and Security to Christians, directed his Letters to the Christian Bishops, as the Persons who were Heads of the Christian Churches, and in all Persecutions had most to be exposed to the greatest Hazards.

[a] Cum multo patientius atque tolerabilius audiret levari adversus se æmulum principem, quam constitui Romæ Dei Sacerdotem. Ep. 55. p. 104.

[b] Τὸς μὲν ἐν Ἑλλησιν Ἀρχοντας μόνους· ὡς Ἄρτιον δὴ καὶ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας, ἀναιρεῖσθαι κελεῦσαι. Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 24.

[b] Nec interest inde Episcopo aut terror aut periculum veniat, qui terroribus & periculis vivit obnoxius. Ep. 59. p. 126.

[c] Ἀντιοχῷ τινὶ Πόντου Διοικητῇ Γαλλιηνὸς, &c. Διονυσίῳ καὶ Πίννᾳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΙΣ, &c. Euseb. l. 7. c. 13.

Thus, Sir, I have examined our Author's *Definition* of a *Bishop* in St. *Cyprian*'s time; and, if I mistake not, have demonstrated by many solid Arguments, that he was neither *Single Presbyter*, nor *Presbyterian Moderator*, in the *Presbyterian Sense* of the *Terms*; but a *True Prelate* in the strictest propriety of Speech. Consider my Arguments thoroughly, and weigh them only in the *Ballance* of *Justice*, without *Prejudice*, and

and without *Partiality*, and try whether *Each* of them *singly*, and much more, *all together* do not *Conclude* irrefragably against him. And if they shall be found to be *Concludent*, I leave it next to *you* to *Determine*, whether our Author is not both *fairly* and *formally bound* by *his Word* to *confess* himself a *Schismatick*.

When I first put Pen to Paper, I had in my Project to have proceeded further, and made it appear as evidently, as what I have now dispatched, That the *Episcopal Prehæminence* which was so notoriously and unquestionably *Prelatical* in St. *Cyprian's* time, was no *Novel Usurpation*, no *Late Invention*, not at all the *Production* of the *Cyprianic Age*, nor any *Age later* than the *Apostles*: That St. *Cyprian*, and all his *Contemporaries*, firmly *believed* it to be of *Divine Institution*; That they had not *Entertained* it, having so little *Temporal Encouragement*, nay, so *great* and *many Temporal Discouragements* to *Entertain* it, if they had not so *believed*: That they had *great Reason* for this their *Belief*; as *fairly* founded on our Saviour's own *Ordinance*, and *fully handed* down to them in the *constant Practice* of the *Universal Church* from the *First Plantation* of *Christian Churches*: That it pass'd amongst them as a *common Principle*, That *Bishops*, as I have represented them, Bishops, as *they* were *then*, that is, clearly *contradistinct* from *Presbyters* and *Superiour* to them, *Bishops* as the *Heads of*, and *Principles of Unity to*, their respective *Churches*, were the *Rightful*, *True*, and *Genuine Successors* of the *Apostles*, in the *Supreme visible Ecclesiastical Power* of *Governing* the *Churches*, whereof they were *Bishops*.

These Things, I say, I had once in my Prospect; but this *Letter* has swell'd to such a Bulk already, as, perhaps, may fright you from Reading it: And you may Command me to Prosecute what is left undone, when you will: And what I have written, as I said, seems to me sufficient, in Point of Argument, for bringing your *Author* to a *Sense* of his *State*, as well as a *Candid Confession* of it, when 'tis thus plainly represented to him: And therefore I Conclude with my Best Christian Wishes to *you* and *him*, and *all Men*.

March 28. 1695.

FINIS.

Advertiſement.

THere is now in the Preſs, and will be Publiſhed by Michaelmas *next*, [An Enquiry into the *New Opinions* (chiefly) propagated by the *Presbyterians* in *Scotland.* *By* A. M. *D.D.*]